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Gregory Adam Scott

Chapter Three: Navigating the Sea of Scriptures: The *Buddhist Studies Collectanea*, 1918–1923¹

1. Introduction

By the end of the 1910s, Buddhist publishing in China had undergone a substantial revival, one that combined the well-established print technology of xylography (woodblock; *muban* 木版) with the introduction of innovative publishing organizations such as the scriptural press (*kejingchu* 刻經處) and the Buddhist scripture distributor (*Fojing liutongchu* 佛經流通處), and the new genre of the Buddhist periodical printed by modern commercial presses.² Chinese Buddhist print culture in the first decade of the Republic featured extensive networks of text distribution and supply, and print catalogues listing over a thousand titles, yet most of these books would have been difficult for readers to comprehend without specialized training and the guidance of a capable teacher, owing to the linguistic particularities of their places and eras of composition, and the specialized semantics of Buddhist-classical Chinese. Without the skills to understand what they were reading, the texts would have a limited impact on readers, and while some introductory books and textbooks intended for classroom use did exist, they were few in number and their use in organized instruction was still very limited.³ The book series *Foxue congshu* 佛學叢書 (Buddhist Studies

¹ This chapter is adapted from the fourth chapter of Gregory Adam Scott, “Conversion by the Book: Buddhist Print Culture in Early Republican China” (PhD diss., Columbia University, 2013). I am deeply grateful to my co-editor Philip Clart for his input and guidance, to the anonymous reviewer of this volume for their insightful suggestions, and to the participants and audience at the panel on “Publishing Religion, Negotiating the Party State: New Perspectives on Religion in Modern China,” held at the 2011 annual meeting of the American Academy of Religion.

² See Scott, “Conversion by the Book,” chapters 1–3.

³ The catalogue of the Beijing Gengshen Scripture Distributor 北京庚申佛經流通處 from 1920 lists approximately 1152 entries. *Fojing liutongchu mulu* 佛經流通處目錄 (Beijing: Beijing Gengshen Fojing liutongchu, 1920), reprinted in *Zhongguo jindai guji chubanshe faxing shiliao congkan* 中國近代古籍出版發行史料叢刊, ed. Xu Shu 徐蜀 and Song Anli 宋安莉, vol. 27 (Beijing: Guojia tushuguan chubanshe, 2003), 560–714. The lay Buddhist publisher Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (Yang Renshan 楊仁山, 1837–1911) compiled a textbook for his Jetavana Hermitage 祇洹精舍 school, called *Fojiao chuxue keben* 佛教初學課本 (Textbook of Buddhism for beginning students). See Gregory Adam Scott, “The Publishing of Buddhist Books for Beginners

Collectanea), initially published in Shanghai between 1918 and 1923, was intended to address this need for guidance in Buddhist reading practices, teaching readers how to interpret and study the Buddhist scriptural canon for themselves, without the need of personal instruction. The editor and publisher of *Foxue congshu*, Ding Fubao 丁福保 (Ding Zhongyou 丁仲祐, 1874–1952), combined a love of reading, a background in textual exegesis and translation, and substantial experience in publishing to produce works that would enable readers to navigate the “turbid sea” of Buddhist scriptural texts.

Ding’s series marks a turning point in the development of Chinese Buddhist print culture in the early twentieth century, when authors began to increasingly focus on producing textual studies that empowered the reader to make use of the exegetical scholarship of the past, and helped to transform the text into the reader’s instructor in the study of Buddhism. Ding’s background in *kaozheng* 考證 (evidential) textual scholarship, an academic movement of the mid-to-late Qing that sought to uncover the original meanings of classical texts prior to later interpretations, led him to focus specifically on the lexicography of the Buddhist scriptures and the network of semantic relationships linking together scriptural and commentarial texts.⁴ The composition and structure of the series was strongly informed by three main features of Ding’s understanding:

1. That reading is a personal experience that brings the reader into direct contact with the author, and connects them to historical experiences of the past;
2. That religion functions as a type of medicine, prescribing treatments for diseases of the spirit, just as medicine treats diseases of the body; and
3. That reading religious texts functions as a type of self-education, for which the reader-as-student requires certain types of reference and guidance materials.

As will be described in the following section, each of these perspectives was quite clearly derived from Ding’s particular background as a bibliophile, physician, and publisher, but they also evidently resonated with several of his peers, with whom he collaborated on the editorship and composition of the works in his series. In this series we see how Chinese Buddhist authors and publishers in the early Republic began to embrace new roles for texts as teachers, and read-

in Modern China from Yang Wenhui to Master Sheng Yen 中國近代歷史上的佛學入門書籍出版事業 – 從楊文會居士至聖嚴法師而言,” *Shengyan yanjiu* 聖嚴研究 5 (forthcoming, 2014).

⁴ On *kaozheng* see Benjamin A. Elman, *From Philosophy to Philology: Intellectual and Social Aspects of Change in Late Imperial China* ([Cambridge, MA]: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1984).

ers as students, roles that would only grow in importance in the decades to follow.

2. Ding Fubao's Background and the Structure of His Series

A lifelong book collector and bibliophile, Ding Fubao is best-known for his publishing and editing work.⁵ While many of his early publications were translations of medical texts from the Japanese, his initial scholarly training was in the study of Chinese classical texts. By 1929 he had amassed a personal collection of some 150,000 books, and it is estimated that from 1901 to 1941 he wrote, edited, translated, or annotated over three hundred titles.⁶ This extensive background in textual study and working with print was part of the foundation for his personal engagement with Buddhism, as well as the structure of his Buddhist collectanea. This book series includes several genres of texts, all of which are intended to help the reader comprehend Buddhist teachings through reliance on the texts alone. Such a pedagogical orientation also made his Buddhist series attractive

5 Ding used the style name Chouyin jushi 疇隱居士 (Layman who Cultivates the Concealed), as well as the courtesy name Shouyi zi 守一子 (He who Guards the One). The reprint edition of the *Foxue congshu* series I consulted is Ding Zhongyou 丁仲祐 [Ding Fubao], *Dingshi Foxue congshu* 丁氏佛學叢書, collected by Cai Yunchen 蔡運辰 (Taipei: Beihai chuban shiye, 1970). The original pages are marked “Wuxi Dingshi cangban” 無錫丁氏藏版 (Edition in the Collection of Ding from Wuxi). Principle sources on Ding's biography include: Ding Fubao, *Chouyin jushi ziding nianpu* 疇隱居士自訂年譜 (1929), in *Qingdai minguo cangshujia nianpu* 清代民國藏書家年譜, ed. Zhang Aifang 張愛芳 and Jia Guirong 賈貴榮, vol. 6 (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2004): 291–424; Ding Fubao, *Chouyin jushi xueshu shi* 疇隱居士學術史, in *Qingdai minguo cangshujia nianpu*, vol. 6: 425–658; Shi Dongchu 釋東初, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi* 中國佛教近代史, in *Dongchu laoren quanji* 東初老人全集, ed. Shi Dongchu, vol. 1 (Taipei: Dongchu, 1974), 647–650. Note that this last account by Dongchu relies exclusively on information presented in the introduction to the reprint edition of Ding's series, written by Cai Yunchen.

6 Wang Xinsheng 王新生, “Wuxi jihui jinian Ding Fubao” 無錫集會紀念丁福保, *Zhongguo qianbi* 中國錢幣 (Jan., 1993), 74; Yang Qi 楊杞, “Jicang juanzhu wei yishen de cangshujia Ding Fubao” 集藏捐著為一身的藏書家丁福保, *Dangdai tushuguan* 當代圖書館 (Feb. 1995), 61. In the 1930s Ding donated over 58,000 books to universities in Shanghai. Chen Yuanlin 陳元麟 (1945–), whose father Chen Sanzhou 陳三洲 distributed Ding's books through his Bolan Press 博覽書局, recalls that in 1949, the then 75-year-old Ding was still active in the publishing world. See Chen Yuanlin 陳元麟, “Wo jiandaoguo de Ding Fubao” 我見到過的丁福保, *Shiji* 世紀 (Century) (March, 2007), 71–72. Ding also popularized the use of the *zhengkai* 正楷 font invented by the Commercial Press. Christopher Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 310fn120.

both to those who may not have an interest in Buddhism but who valued the study of Chinese literature, and to those Buddhists who were seeking to reform education for monastics and laypeople. Although Ding's project of editing and compiling Buddhist texts followed a model that had been part of Chinese textual culture since ancient times, his dual backgrounds in interpreting texts from the classical past and in publishing texts for the contemporary book market combined to produce a series that matched scriptural content with exegesis directed to a contemporary reader.⁷

Ding was from Wuxi 無錫 in Jiangsu province, and thanks to his family's scholarly background he had an interest in books from an early age. In 1894 he worked as an instructor in a private school (*shu* 塾) run by the well-known book collector Lian Nanhu 廉南湖 (1868–1931), from whom he learned book collecting and textual exegesis. The next year he began studying at the Nanjing Academy 南菁書院 in Jiangyin 江陰, Jiangsu province, and while there received guidance from Wang Xianqian 王先謙 (1842–1917) on annotating classical texts.⁸ Eventually he began work as a teacher, but finding it difficult to live on a teacher's salary, in 1902 he returned to school to study Chinese medicine under Zhao Yuanyi 趙元益 (1840–1912) at a Shanghai *dongwen xuetao* 東文學堂 (Japanese-language academy).⁹ In 1909 Ding placed first in the medical exams held in

7 Daojie 道階 (1866–1934) lists the following as precedent examples to Ding's works: *Fayuan zhulin* 法苑珠林 (Forest of pearls from the garden of the Dharma, 668 CE); *Dazang yilan* 大藏一覽 (The Tripitaka at a glance, Ming dynasty or earlier); *Zongjing lu* 宗鏡錄 (Record of the axiom mirror, tenth century); *Jinghai yidi* 經海一滴 (One drop of the Dharma sea, 1735); *Zongjing dagang* 宗鏡大綱 (Outline of the axiom mirror, 1734). Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1360.

8 The Nanjing Academy was established in 1884 by Huang Tifang 黃體芳 (1832–1899) and supported by Zuo Zongtang 左宗棠 (1812–1885). Mentioned briefly in Volker Scheid, *Currents of Tradition in Chinese Medicine, 1626–2006* (Seattle: Eastland Press, 2007), 237, 460fn43. Wang Xianqian was a scholar of classical literature and in 1915 published a definitive edition of Qing-dynasty scholarship on the subject. See Jeffrey Riegel, "Eros, Introversion, and the Beginnings of *Shijing* Commentary," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 57, no. 1 (1997): 146–147.

9 Jiang Qingbo 江慶柏, "Ding Fubao de cangshu guannian ji cangshu shijian" 丁福保的藏書觀念及藏書實踐, *Tushuguan xue yanjiu* 圖書館學研究 (Feb. 2000), 96–100; Howard L. Boorman, ed., *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, vol. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), 269–270; Ding, *Chouyin jushi ziding Nianpu*, 305; Yu Lingbo 于凌波, *Zhongguo jinxian dai Fojiao renwu zhi* 中國近現代佛教人物志 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 1995), 423–424; Zhao Pushan 趙璞珊, "Ding Fubao he ta zaoqi bianzhu fanyi de yishu" 丁福保和他早期編著翻譯的醫書, *Zhong-Xi yi jiehe zazhi* 中西醫結合雜誌 10, no. 4 (1990), 248. Zhao Yuanyi was a major translator of his generation, had previously collaborated in translating works on Western medicine, and attained the *juren* 舉人 degree in 1888. See David Wright, "The Translation of Modern Western Science in Nineteenth-Century China, 1840–1895", *Isis* 89, No. 4 (Dec., 1998), 665; David Wright, "Tan Sitong and the Ether Reconsidered", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental*

Nanjing, which for the first time were based on a mixture of Chinese and Western medicine; his success was likely due at least in some part to his experience as a student translating books on Western medicine from the Japanese. Dispatched to Japan by the Qing government, he observed their medical system and purchased medical texts, but the Republican revolution occurred before he could submit his findings to the Qing court.¹⁰ When Ding returned to Shanghai he set up his own medical practice and began republishing edited and annotated versions of other authors' works, including texts he had brought back from Japan. His books were initially issued through Wenming shuju 文明書局 (Wenming Books), the publishing house he had founded in 1902 with two fellow translators and editors, and which had gotten its start by publishing translations from European languages and the Japanese.¹¹ His series of translated medical texts *Yixue congshu* 醫學叢書 (The Medical Collectanea) was published by Wenming Books from 1908 to 1911, but from 1914 onward he used the imprint of Shanghai yixue shuju 上海醫學書局 (The Shanghai Medical Press), which he would continue to use for most of his later publications.¹² Income from his successful medical practice allowed Ding to acquire more rare and important books for his collection, helping to supply more source material for his publishing work.

Extant biographical sources describe a variety of circumstances behind Ding's initial turn toward Buddhism. Although these stories range from the prosaic to the dramatic, a few key areas of contact between them make it possible to construct a tentative outline of his early engagement with Buddhism. Most accounts state that it occurred thanks to a meeting with the Buddhist lay publisher Yang Wenhui 楊文會 (Yang Renshan 楊仁山, 1837–1911) in Nanjing in 1903, and one source describes how in the following year a chance encounter with a copy

and *African Studies*, *University of London* 57, no. 3 (1994), 567. Japanese-language academies were set up in the late Qing to prepare Chinese students to study abroad in Japan.

10 Ding, *Nianpu*, 32; Zhao Pushan, "Ding Fubao," 248.

11 Lufei Kui 陸費逵 (1886–1941), who would later found Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, one of the three largest Chinese publishers of the Republican period, co-edited some unpublished textbooks with Ding and later joined the staff at Wenming from 1906 to 1908. Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*, 227–228.

12 Ding, *Nianpu*, 316–317, 325–326; Zhao Pushan, "Ding Fubao," 248. Ding identifies Hua Chunfu 華純甫 and Li Jinghan 李靜涵 as his compatriots in the early days of Wenming Books. Earlier in 1906 Ding had founded a translation and publishing house called the Translation Society (Yishu gonghui 譯書公會) in his hometown of Wuxi through which he published a number of medical texts, but it folded after a property dispute in early 1908. For one catalogue of the Shanghai Medical Press' published works, see Shanghai tushuguan 上海圖書館, ed., *Zhongguo jindai xiandai congshu mulu* 中國近代現代叢書目錄 (Shanghai: Shanghai tushuguan, 1979), 13–15.

of the book *Shishi yulu* 釋氏語錄 (Recorded sayings of the Śākyas) planted the seeds of an interest in Buddhism. His chronological autobiography (*ziding nianpu* 自訂年譜), however, instead recalls the influence of a devout Buddhist whom he had employed to instruct his children in 1911. By that time he had already acquired a number of Buddhist scriptures as part of his book collecting and read them often, but he had not yet put their teachings into practice.¹³ There is no evidence that Ding took formal refuge as a lay Buddhist (*guiyi* 皈依) at the age of 40 *sui* 歲 (i.e. 1913), as narrated in one of the prefaces to his series, but Ding does note that it was in that year that he came to an important realization: for all his learning and erudition, he was not making any progress in the study of the Way (*dao* 道).¹⁴ The year 1913 was a turning point for several facets of his life and work. He would later recall that from this year he resolved to devote his energies to medicine and seek to make a lasting contribution in that rather than any other field, and he resolved to put all his efforts into publishing medical works and running his medical practice. Alongside his medical focus, however, Buddhism became a significant and growing interest. It was also from this year that he started to collect a great number of Buddhist scriptures and began to compile a lexicon of Buddhist terms. By the following year he was keeping a vegetarian diet, something he appears to have maintained for the rest of his life.¹⁵ Ding thus came to be interested in Buddhism primarily through reading and textual study, but unlike many others who had experienced a sudden and dramatic “conversion by the book” while reading a scriptural text, there does not appear to have been a single dramatic moment of realization that marked his turn toward

¹³ Ding, *Chouyin jushi ziding Nianpu*, 318, 330. Yu, *Zhongguo jinxiandai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 424–425. The teacher was one Shen Bowei 沈伯偉 (Shen Zufan 沈祖藩, 1875–1918). Yu Lingbo claims that Ding had been publishing Buddhist scriptures as early as 1912, but I have not found any other evidence of this. Some accounts of Ding’s turn toward Buddhist studies are mentioned in Jan Kiely, “Spreading the Dharma with the Mechanized Press: New Buddhist Print Cultures in the Modern Chinese Print Revolution, 1866–1949,” in *From Woodblocks to the Internet: Chinese Publishing and Print Culture in Transition, 1800–2008*, ed. Christopher Reed and Cynthia Brokaw (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2010), 193. Ding further notes in his preface to *Foxue qixin lun* 佛學起信論 (1919) and elsewhere that it was from the age of 40 *sui* that he became fond of reading Buddhist scriptures.

¹⁴ Ding, *Chouyin jushi xueshu shi*, 522. Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 29. Yu Lingbo writes that a bout with a serious illness in 1914, along with the death of his mother in the same year, forced Ding to reconsider his orientation to “worldly matters,” but Ding’s autochronology instead records his mother dying in March 1920. Ding, *Chouyin jushi ziding Nianpu*, 381.

¹⁵ Ding, *Chouyin jushi ziding Nianpu*, 357. Yu, *Zhongguo jinxiandai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 427; Ding, *Chouyin jushi ziding Nianpu*, entry for 1929.

Buddhist teachings.¹⁶ Indeed he never committed himself exclusively to Buddhism, and would later shift the focus of his textual studies and publishing efforts to other religious traditions.

Ding's engagement with Buddhism through the 1910s and early 1920s culminated in the compilation of his Buddhist Studies collectanea, first published from 1918 to 1923. Ding had published a number of book series before, including his medical collectanea mentioned above, as well as two other collections: *Wenxue congshu* 文學叢書 (The Literary Collectanea, d.u.), and *Jinde congshu* 進德叢書 (The Advancing Morality Collectanea, 1912?–1925?). Of these, the Medical Collectanea was likely the largest, with forty-six titles that can be dated to 1918 or earlier.¹⁷ His Buddhist collectanea consists of annotated Buddhist scriptures, books for beginners, dictionaries, and printed images, and was initially published through his Shanghai Medical Press. The series eventually grew to number thirty core titles, based on those listed in Ding's preface and afterword to the series, and those included in the 1970 reprint edition edited by Cai Yunchen 蔡運辰 (Cai Niansheng 蔡念生, 1901–1992). Most of these titles were first issued between 1918 and 1921, and Ding continued to add new titles and imprints to the series as late as 1923.¹⁸ For the most part, the content of the collectanea was originally composed by other authors, with Ding's contribution being mainly editing, annotation, and his extensive prefatory and commentarial notes. With an ever-growing personal collection of books, a keen eye for rare and important texts, and his background in textual and translation studies, Ding was well-suited to this type of compilation. In his earlier series, Ding had translated and annotated Japanese medical knowledge; in his Buddhist series, he either translates the difficult and

¹⁶ See the introduction to Scott, "Conversion by the Book," for more on this trope in Chinese Buddhist biographies.

¹⁷ Shanghai tushuguan, ed., *Zhongguo jindai xiandai congshu mulu*, 13–15. Many of the books in the Medical Collectanea are translations of Japanese texts, which were themselves originally translations from European-language works. Ding's editing and translation work emphasized the importance of making these cutting-edge medical and scientific concepts easier for the reader to understand. See Zhao Pushan, "Ding Fubao," 248–249.

¹⁸ Cai selected the titles to include in his reprint edition based on the 1918 series catalogue appended to *Fojing jinghua lu jianzhu* 佛經精華錄箋註 (Annotated essential records of Buddhist scriptures), reproduced on p. 1520 in the reprint edition of *Foxue congshu*. The catalogue also lists planned titles in the series that would be published in the years to follow. See Ding, *Foxue congshu*, preface, 5. For a later published catalogue of the series, see "Foxue congshu" 佛學叢書, *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊 1 (1923), reprinted in Huang Xianian 黃夏年, ed., *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成, vol. 14 (Beijing: Quanguo tushiguan wenxian suowei fuzhi zhongxin, 2006) 397–404. Huang is hereafter cited as MFQ. Cai did not include *Foxue da cidian* in his reprint due to its size and the fact that the Huayan Lotus Society (Huayan lianshe 華嚴蓮社) in Taiwan had by that time already issued a reprint edition.

often obscure language of the Buddhist scriptures, or presents evidentiary material cited from the textual corpus in order to support the doctrines of those scriptures.

Table 1: Works published in *Ding's Buddhist Studies Collectanea* from 1918 to 1925

| Year | Title ¹⁹ | Location of Source in Canon ²⁰ | Bibliography Entries and Reprint Editions ²¹ |
|------|--|---|---|
| 1918 | <i>Badaren jue jing jianzhu</i> 八大人覺經箋注 Annotated sūtra of the eight meditations of the great ones | T17 no. 779 | |
| | <i>Fo yijiao jing jianzhu</i> 佛遺教經箋注 Annotated sūtra of the deathbed injunction | T40 no. 1820 | |
| | <i>Sishier zhang jing jianzhu</i> 四十二章經箋注 Annotated sūtra in forty-two sections | T17 no. 784 | |
| | <i>Fojing jinghualu jianzhu</i> 佛經精華錄箋注 Annotated essential records of Buddhist scriptures | | S0438 |
| | <i>Guanshiyin jing jianzhu</i> 觀世音經箋注 Annotated Avalokitêśvara sūtra | | S0235 |
| | <i>Gaowang guanshiyin jing jianzhu</i> 高王觀世音經箋注 Annotated Avalokitêśvara sūtra of King Gao | T85 no. 2898 | |
| | <i>Yulanpen jing jianzhu</i> 盂蘭盆經箋注 Annotated ullambana sūtra | T16 no. 685 | |

¹⁹ Title translations based on those in the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* 電子佛教辭典, <<http://www.buddhism-dict.net/ddb/>>, or those currently in common use.

²⁰ T refers to locations in the Taishō Canon, X in the *Xu zangjing* 續藏經 (Extended Canon). Based on the Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association 中華電子佛典協會 index, <<http://www.cbeta.org/index.htm>>.

²¹ References item index numbers in the *Digital Catalogue of Chinese Buddhism*, <<http://bib.buddhiststudies.net/>>.

| Year | Title ¹⁹ | Location of Source in Canon ²⁰ | Bibliography Entries and Reprint Editions ²¹ |
|------|---|---|---|
| | <i>Amituo jing jianzhu</i> 阿彌陀經箋注 Annotated Amida sūtra | T12 no. 366 | |
| | <i>Wuliangshou jing jianzhu</i> 無量壽經箋注 Annotated Sūtra of Immeasurable Life | T12 no. 360 | |
| | <i>Guan wuliangshou Fo jing jianzhu</i> 觀無量壽佛經箋注 Annotated contemplation Sūtra ²² | T12 no. 365 | |
| | <i>Wuliangyi jing jianzhu</i> 無量義經箋注 Annotated sūtra of unlimited meanings | T09 no. 276 | |
| | <i>Guan puxian pusa xingfa jing jianzhu</i> 觀普賢菩薩行法經箋注 Annotated sūtra of meditating on Samantabhadra Bodhisattva | T09 no. 277 | |
| | <i>Jin'gang bore poluomi jing jianzhu</i> 金剛般若波羅蜜經箋注 Annotated diamond sūtra | T08 no. 235 | S0215 |
| | <i>Bore poluomiduo xin jing jianzhu</i> 般若波羅蜜多心經箋注 Annotated heart sūtra | T08 no. 251 | |
| 1919 | <i>Foxue qixin bian</i> 佛學起信編 Awakening of faith in Buddhist studies | | |
| | <i>Foxue zhinan</i> 佛學指南 Guide to Buddhist studies | | S0175 |
| | <i>Liudao lunhui lu</i> 六道輪迴錄 Records of transmigration through the six kinds of rebirth | | |

²² Worldcat <<http://www.worldcat.org/>> has an entry with a preface dated to 1924, but I have not been able to track down its original library catalogue source. Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) no. 33955802.

| Year | Title ¹⁹ | Location of Source in Canon ²⁰ | Bibliography Entries and Reprint Editions ²¹ |
|------|--|---|---|
| | <i>Liuzu tanjing jianzhu</i> 六祖壇經箋注 ²³ Annotated platform sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch | T48 no. 2008 | |
| | <i>Foxue xiao zidian</i> 佛學小辭典 Concise dictionary of Buddhist studies ²⁴ | | S0163 |
| | <i>Foxue da cidian xuli</i> 佛學大辭典序例 Preface and notes on the great dictionary of Buddhist studies | | |
| 1920 | <i>Foxue cuoyao</i> 佛學撮要 Essentials of Buddhist studies | | S0194, reprint S1316 |
| | <i>Foxue chujie</i> 佛學初階 Initial stages in Buddhist studies | | |
| | <i>Foxue zhi jichu</i> 佛學之基礎 Foundations of Buddhist studies | | |
| | <i>Xue Fo shiyan tan</i> 學佛實驗譚 Discourse on studying Buddhism experimentally | | S0149 |
| | <i>Guanshiyin pusa ganying lu</i> 觀世音菩薩靈感錄 Record of the miraculous response of Guanshiyin Bodhisattva | | |
| | <i>Xinjing xiangzhu</i> 心經詳注 Detailed annotated heart sūtra | T08 no. 251 | |
| | <i>Ru Fo wenda</i> 入佛問答 Questions and answers on beginning Buddhism | | |

²³ Full title of the original text: *Liuzu dashi fabao tanjing* 六祖大師法寶壇經.

²⁴ Cited bibliographic entry is for the fifth edition published in 1926.

| Year | Title ¹⁹ | Location of Source in Canon ²⁰ | Bibliography Entries and Reprint Editions ²¹ |
|------|---|---|---|
| | <i>Jingzuo fa jingyi</i> 靜坐法精義 Essential meaning of the method of quiet sitting | | |
| | <i>Shijia rulai chengdao jizhu</i> 釋迦如來成道記注 Annotated record of the Tathāgata Śākyamuni attaining the way | X75 no. 1509 | |
| | <i>Wuchang jing</i> 無常經 Sūtra of impermanence | T17 no. 801 | |
| | 佛像 Buddha Images – 25 types ²⁵ | | |
| 1921 | <i>Xue Fo jiejing</i> 學佛捷徑 Shortcut to studying Buddhism | | |
| | <i>Foxue da cidian</i> 佛學大辭典 Great dictionary of Buddhist studies ²⁶ | | S0154 |
| | <i>Fahua jing jujie</i> 法華經句解 Phrasal understanding of the lotus sūtra | T09 no. 263 | |
| | <i>Yuanjue jing lüeshu</i> 圓覺經畧疏 Brief outline of the sūtra of perfect enlightenment | T39 no. 1795 | |
| | <i>Weimo jing zhu</i> 維摩經注 Annotated Vimalakīrti sūtra ²⁷ | T14 no. 475 | |

²⁵ Unfortunately I have not been able to find any examples or descriptions of these images. A later catalogue from 1934 lists 16 types of printed images for sale. *Chuban mulu* 出版目錄, no. 7 ([Shanghai]: Shanghai yixue shuju, Sept. 1934), in *Minguo shiqi chuban shumu huibian* 民國時期出版書目彙編, ed. Liu Hongquan 劉洪權, vol. 14 (Beijing: Guojia Tushuguan Chubanshe, 2010), 744–745.

²⁶ Cited bibliographic entry is for a 1925 edition.

²⁷ Full title: *Weimojie suoshuo jing* 維摩詰所說經.

| Year | Title ¹⁹ | Location of Source in Canon ²⁰ | Bibliography Entries and Reprint Editions ²¹ |
|------|--|---|---|
| | <i>Du dasheng qixin lun jie jue</i> 讀大乘起信論捷訣 Key to reading the awakening of Mahāyāna faith | T32 nos. 1666, 1667 | |
| | <i>Fojiao zongpai xiangzhu</i> 佛教宗派詳注 Detailed annotated schools and sects of Buddhism | | S0313 |
| | <i>Xiuzhenben Fojing congkan</i> 袖珍本佛經叢刊 Pocket edition of Buddhist sūtras series | | |
| | <i>Xiuzhenben ru Fo wenda leibian</i> 袖珍本人佛問答類編 Pocket edition of questions and answers on beginning Buddhism, arranged by subject | | |
| 1922 | <i>Xinjing jingyi</i> 心經精義 Essential meaning of the heart sūtra | | |
| | <i>Sihou zhi shenpan</i> 死後之審判 The judgment after death | | |
| 1923 | <i>Dabei zhou jianzhu</i> 大悲咒箋注 Annotated dhāraṇī of great compassion | | |
| | <i>Fojiao ganying pian</i> 佛教感應篇 Essays on miraculous response in Buddhism | | |
| | <i>Sanzang fashu</i> 三藏法數 Categories of dharmic concepts in the Buddhist tripiṭaka | | |

The structure and style of the volumes in the series reflect Ding's orientation toward engaging with Buddhism as a form of education, a theme that was very much at the forefront of Chinese Buddhist publishing of the late-Qing and early-Republican periods. Ding's publishing house and his earlier medical series both incorporate the term *yixue* 醫學 (medical studies, medicine), while many of

the titles in his Buddhism series use *Foxue* 佛學 (Buddhist Studies). Both terms were then newly introduced to Chinese, and both had initially appeared as reverse loan-words from the Japanese, in the case of *yixue* as a translation for foreign terms meaning “medicine.” The origins of *Foxue* date back to around 1895 in Japan, and 1902 in China.²⁸ It is one of a number of words adopted from the Japanese in the decade that followed the First Sino-Japanese war (1894–1895), when many Chinese scholars studied in Japan in order to learn the techniques by which Japan was able to modernize its military, economy, and political system.²⁹ The short-lived *Foxue yanjiuhui* 佛學研究會 (Association for Buddhist Research) established in 1910, and the periodical *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報 (Buddhist Studies Magazine) first issued in 1912 both used the term, but otherwise it is not often seen in Buddhist titles until the publication of Ding’s series.³⁰ Ding does not explicitly address his use of this term, but by denoting his subject with *Foxue* rather than an alternative term such as *Fojiao* 佛教, *Fofa* 佛法, or *Fohua* 佛化, he may have been trying to avoid some of the negative associations that late-Qing scholars had attached to these latter terms in their criticisms of Buddhism and other religions as corrupt and superstitious.³¹ By giving Buddhism the connotation of a field of study, Ding adroitly links it to an educational milieu, placing it on the same semantic field as science (*kexue* 科學), mathematics (*shuxue* 數學), and medicine. Modern education and fields of knowledge had a great deal

²⁸ Read as *futsugaku*, 佛學 was first used in Japanese as a combination phonetic-semantic term (parallel to *rangaku* 蘭學) meaning French Studies, with the first character used for its sound and devoid of any connection to Buddhism. The first instance of the term being used as *butsugaku* (Buddhist studies) that I have found is Saeki Hōdō 佐伯法導, *Butsugaku sansho: kakushū hikkei* 佛學三書：各宗必携 (Kyōto: Hōzōkan 法藏館, Meiji 28 [1895].) The earliest use of *foxue* in the title of a Chinese book that I have found is the 1902 catalogue from Yang Wenhui’s Jinling Scriptural Press, *Foxue shumu biao* 佛學書目表. See Yang Wenhui 楊文會, Zhou Jizhi 周繼旨, ed., *Yang Renshan quanji* 楊仁山全集 (Hefei: Huangshan shushe, 2000): 344–368. Also see Gabriele Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle. Yang Wenhui (1837–1911), réformateur laïque et imprimeur* (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des Hautes Études Chinoises, 2001), 60–67. Given Yang’s close association with Nanjō Bunyu and with Japanese Buddhist texts, he may have been a key point of transmission for this term to enter the Chinese lexicon.

²⁹ Federico Masini, *The Formation of Modern Chinese Lexicon and Its Evolution Toward a National Language: The Period from 1840 to 1898* (Berkeley, CA: Project on Linguistic Analysis, University of California, 1993), 149–151, 222; Lu Yan, *Re-understanding Japan: Chinese Perspectives, 1895–1945* (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai’i Press, 2004).

³⁰ On the *Foxue yanjiuhui* see Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 215–216. *Foxue congbao* is discussed in Scott, “Conversion by the Book,” chapter 3, section 2.

³¹ Vincent Goossaert, “1898: The Beginning of the End for Chinese Religion?,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65, no. 2 (2006): 320–328.

of cultural power in the late Qing and early Republic as the centuries-old examination system was abolished and public and private schools proliferated, and it was especially important for Chinese publishers, the largest of which built their business on textbook publishing.³²

The prefaces written for Ding's Buddhist Studies Collectanea, of which there are five written from 1918 to 1920, reflect this orientation toward pedagogy both in their content and in the background of their authors.³³ Li Xiang 李詳 (Li Shenyan 李審言, 1859–1931) was a prolific author who, like Ding, was associated with *kaozheng* scholarship of the late Qing.³⁴ In his preface he argues that the messages of the Buddhist teachings are at their core no different from those of the six classics of the sages, but notes that while scholars have given a great deal of careful attention to explicating the latter, before the advent of Ding's series, Buddhist scriptures had not been studied in the same exacting manner.³⁵ Li does not present himself as a Buddhist believer, but instead lends his support to Ding's use of textual exegesis to interpret Buddhist scriptural texts. Little is known about Chen Jiadun 陳嘉遯 (d.u.) and Wu Baozhen 吳保真 (d.u.), authors of the following two prefaces. Chen wrote a handful of articles for Buddhist periodicals in the 1920s, and in his preface he mentions ordering some two hundred copies of Ding's books, while Wu also wrote a preface to Ding's Buddhist dictionary, discussed below.³⁶ The author of the fourth preface, Chanding 禪定 (1874–?), was a monk in the Tiantai tradition who began his monastic career in Shanghai, and who later studied at Guanzong Lecture Temple 觀宗講寺 in Ningbo 寧波, which was under the leadership of the Tiantai patriarch Dixian 諦閑 (1858–1932), as well as at temples in Shaanxi 陝西 and Liaoning 遼寧.³⁷ His preface evokes the images of the *agada* medicine (*ajiatuo yao* 阿伽陀藥), a powerful panacea mentioned in Buddhist scriptures, to link Ding's medical practice to the salvific powers of Buddhist scriptures, saying that his published works serve to heal the body as well as the mind. This trope of "Buddhism as medicine"

³² Reed, *Gutenberg in Shanghai*. Also see Reed's "Introduction" to *From Woodblocks to the Internet*, 8–10.

³³ These prefaces introduce the series as a whole, while individual titles often have their own prefaces, notes, and other prefatory and explanatory material.

³⁴ On Li, see Li Xiang 李詳, Li Zhifu 李稚甫, eds., *Li Shenyan wenji* 李審言文集 ([S.l.]: Jiangsu guji chubanshe, 1989), 1447–1481.

³⁵ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1–8. Li's preface was also annotated by Ding with interlinear exegetical notes.

³⁶ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 9–24.

³⁷ Fang Zuyou 方祖猷, *Tiantai zong guanzong jiangsi zhi* 天台宗觀宗講寺志: 1912–1949 (Beijing: Zongjiao wenhua chubanshe, 2006), 54–55. Yu Lingbo 于凌波, ed., *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian* 現代佛教人物辭典 (Sanchong: Foguang, 2004), 1666–1667.

would be invoked throughout the works in the series.³⁸ Chanding also notes that Ding follows the classical model of exegesis to annotate Buddhist texts, and that the act of reading these texts represents the first step in a process of acquiring religious knowledge that will lead one toward understanding, contemplation, and finally a confirmation of one's insight. Chanding himself was just then in the process of acquiring a set of the complete Buddhist canon from Beijing for the Guanzong Temple.³⁹

Several prominent religious, literary, and political figures of the day contributed prefaces to individual titles in the series. The monk Yinguang 印光 (1862–1940) wrote a number of prefaces to books for beginners in the series; Dixian, mentioned above, contributed to two annotated sūtras, and Daojie 道階 (1866–1944) wrote one for the scriptural compilation *Fojing jinghua lu jianzhu* 佛經精華錄箋註 (Annotated essential records of Buddhist scriptures, 1918). These three figures were all very active in Buddhist circles of the time, Daojie being especially well-known for his international connections with Buddhists overseas and Dixian for his teaching and voluminous writing.⁴⁰ A number of figures without any particular connection to Buddhism also contributed prefaces for individual works in the series. These include Wu Zhihui 吳稚暉 (1865–1953), eminent scholar, elder statesman of the Guomindang, and driving force behind the promotion of the *zhuyin zimu* 注音字母 phonetic writing system; Meng Sen 孟森 (1868–1937), who served briefly in the early Republican government before teaching at National Central and Peking Universities; and Sun Yuyun 孫毓筠 (1869–1924), a member of the Tongmenghui 同盟會 in Japan who later supported the monarchist aspirations of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859–1916).⁴¹ In their prefaces, each contributor highlights different aspects of the series: Wu Zhihui praises Ding's erudition and compassion, puzzles over problems of semantics when dealing with terms translated from the Sanskrit, and discuss-

³⁸ See the end of the following section for more on this.

³⁹ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 27–28. The *agada* medicine is mentioned in Zhiyi's *Mohe zhiguan* 摩訶止觀 (Great Tranquility and Contemplation, Taishō no. 1911) and the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (Avatamsaka Sūtra). See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, [阿伽陀藥]; Foguang da cidian bianxiu weiyuanhui 佛光大辭典編修委員會, ed., *Foguang da cidian* 佛光大辭典 (Gaoxiong xian: Foguang chubanshe, 1988), 3617. Chanding's preface to the series was also printed in *Haichao yin* 海潮音 (Voice of the Sea Tide) in August 1921, MFQ 151:119–120.

⁴⁰ On Dixian see: Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:757–761; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 2:1621–1624. On Daojie see: Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, 2:825–828; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 2:1386–1388.

⁴¹ See section three below for more on Mei. Also see Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, vol. 3, 416, 432–434.

es the place of Buddhist scriptures in the history of civilizations;⁴² Meng Sen focuses on the filial piety expressed in the *Foshuo yulanpen jing* 佛說盂蘭盆經 (Ullambana Sūtra);⁴³ Sun Yuyun lauds Ding's work in providing solid scriptural evidence for the teachings in a time of End-Dharma (*mofa* 末法) and aberrant teachings (*moshuo* 魔說).⁴⁴ The literary, historical, and cultural value of the Buddhist texts in Ding's series is, at least in the context of their contributed prefaces, clearly held in high regard even by those with no particular personal connection to Buddhism.

In August 1920, some seven years after his "turning point" that led him to focus on medicine and Buddhist scriptures, and at a time when the first titles in the series were coming off the presses, Ding composed a preface and an afterword for his series reflecting on the path that brought him to undertake such a project.⁴⁵ In it he relates the story outlined in his autobiographical chronology mentioned above that at the age of forty *sui* (i.e. late 1913 to early 1914) he realized that in spite of his studies of medicine, mathematics, literature and other subjects, "the Way was not illuminated, and virtue not established."⁴⁶ He thus turned to the study of Buddhism. He collected more than ten thousand fascicles of Buddhist texts, books that, he claims, hold meanings which mundane (*shijian* 世間) works could not express.⁴⁷ Ding's account of reading Buddhist scriptures describes a vivid and experiential immediacy with their messages:

I often contemplated and saw with my own eyes, recollecting how after Śakyamuni attained the way he preached the Avatamsaka Sūtra for thirty-seven days. ... At the time of his *parinirvāṇa*, he preached the Nirvana Sūtra for one day and one night. It was if I saw these matters with my own eyes, heard their voices with my own ears, and directly faced their pronouncements. After the Buddha entered *nirvana*, for a period of seven days and nights Mahākāśyapa, Ānanda, and others along with the five hundred Arhats assembled the *triṭṭaka* of scriptural texts at Vulture Peak.⁴⁸ I also saw everything distinctly as if it were

⁴² Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1231–1232, 1251–1254, 1303–1304.

⁴³ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1605–1606.

⁴⁴ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1523–1524. Translation of *moshuo* from *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*. On Buddhist notions of cosmic epochs, the decline of the Dharma, and historical time, see Jan Nattier, *Once Upon a Future Time: Studies in a Buddhist Prophecy of Decline* (Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1991), 15–26.

⁴⁵ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 29–32, 3007–3008.

⁴⁶ 『道不明，德不立』, a reference to the *Daxue* 大學 (Great Learning).

⁴⁷ The length of a fascicle (*juan* 卷) in characters or pages is not fixed, but roughly corresponds to a chapter of a modern work.

⁴⁸ In Buddhist scriptures, Mahākāśyapa 摩訶迦葉 and Ānanda 阿難 are two of the chief disciples of the Buddha, and are said to have helped assemble the Buddha's teachings into written form as described.

the personal instruction of a teacher. It was also as if I entered the rooms of Kumārajīva and Xuanzang, and saw them translate the language of Brahma Heaven into the language of the lands of China, explaining the meaning and structure of the texts, then wetting the tip of their brush with the tip of their tongue and composing their thoughts.⁴⁹ I also entered the rooms of all the great exegetes and compilers since the Sui and Tang dynasties, discussed with eminent monks young and old, and I could hear their voices.

All of these absurd thoughts often appeared during a dawn storm, in the liminal time between darkness and light, and though I wished to dispel them I was unable to do so.

余時時冥思諦觀，追憶釋迦成道後，於三七日說華嚴經。... 滅度時，於一日一夜，說涅槃經。吾如目見其事，耳聞其聲，而面領其誥誡也。佛滅度後，經七日夜，迦葉阿難等與五百羅漢，在耆闍崛山中結集三藏經典。吾亦無不歷歷在目，若承其耳提而面命也。吾又如入鳩摩羅什玄奘法師之室，見其翻梵天之語，成漢地之言，發凡起例，含毫而屬思也。又入隋唐以來諸註疏家之室，與諸高僧，上下其議論，而親接其警咳也。凡此種種妄想，往往發現於雞鳴風雨，若明若昧之際，欲排遣之而不可得。⁵⁰

Although Ding uses a non-committal tone regarding the reality of his visions, calling them “absurd thoughts,” they are nonetheless evocative descriptions of his experience of reading, one that he wished to bring to a wider audience by sharing these scriptural texts with the world. This was an experience of immediate communication with the authors and characters in the texts, coming into direct contact with the teacher of the past through the act of reading. Yet Ding then goes on to recall his concern that the sheer number of printed works and the complexity of their content would overwhelm novice readers, causing them to give up before making any real progress. This prompted him to make a personal vow (*si shiyuan* 私誓願) to produce annotated editions of scriptural texts, as well as introductory books for beginners (*chuxue rumen* 初學入門) so that one need not become a specialist to engage in the study of Buddhism.⁵¹ The motivation for producing his Buddhist Studies series, as he describes it, was thus a religious rather than a commercial one, and indeed Ding did not seek to derive any profit from the sale of his Buddhist books, instead reinvesting any excess funds back into the printing enterprise. Most of the funds to print the books came from donations, and the retail price of the books was usually only enough to cover one third of the cost of their production.⁵²

⁴⁹ Kumārajīva 鳩摩羅什 (334–413) was a Central Asian translator monk who translated a number of important Buddhist scriptures into Chinese. Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) was a Chinese monk who made pilgrimage to India and brought back Buddhist scriptural texts to be translated.

⁵⁰ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 29–30.

⁵¹ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 29–30.

⁵² See Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 425; “Ding Fubao qishi” 丁福保啟事, *Haichao yin*, vol. 2, no. 3 (Feb. 20, 1921), MFQ 150:118.

Ding thus felt that he could not simply start reprinting original Buddhist texts as scriptural presses had done, since in their basic form they were simply too complex for most people to comprehend. This became the central problematic that propelled his editing and exegetical work on his Buddhist book series. He explores this issue at some length in his preface to *Foxue zhinan* 佛學指南 (Guide to Buddhist Studies), published as part of the series in 1919:

In our country, since the time of Emperor Ming of the Eastern Han dynasty when the scriptures were brought to the Eastern lands on the back of a white horse, there was the Kaiyuan Bibliography of Buddhist Teachings written by Zhisheng 智昇 [669–740] in the tenth year of the Kaiyuan era of the Tang [713–714], which listed 5,418 fascicles of scriptures, vinaya, and commentary. This was the beginning of numbering the contents of the canon. Afterward there was the Song canon of 5,714 fascicles, and the Yuan canon of 5,397 fascicles. Since the Song dynasty, there have been more than 20 additions to this among state and private publishers.... Recently the canon printed by the Kalaviṅka Hermitage has 8,416 fascicles. Also the Japanese Extended Canon has more than 7,800 fascicles. ...

Numerous, numerous! The sea of scriptures! Take one step into it, and it's a vastness without a shore. All who see the vast sea of work to be done simply sigh with despair. It is as if we are in a boat on the ocean and encounter a sudden storm of angry waves. One glimpse at the limitlessness, and all the passengers look at each other in fear. But the boatmen who know where it is peaceful, and who in calm control finally lead the boat to the other shore, how could they not have something called a compass [*zhinan zhen* 指南鍼]? Piloting a boat is like this, so how could navigating the sea of scriptures be any different?

吾國自東漢明帝時，白馬馱經，來茲東土。有唐開元十年，沙門智昇著開元釋教目錄，詮次經律論章疏，總維五千四十八卷。此大藏定數之始也。爾後宋藏五千七百十四卷，元藏五千三百九十七卷。自宋以來，官私刻版，多至二十餘副。... 近頻伽精舍所刊大藏經，八千四百十有六卷。又日本續藏經七千百餘卷，可謂盛矣。... 浩浩乎。經海哉。驟涉其津，茫無涯涘。未有不望洋而興嘆者。譬夫吾人航海，遇驚風怒濤，一望無際，乘客相顧失色。而舟子神識恬靜，操縱自如，卒循航線而達彼岸者，豈非有所謂指南鍼者在歟。航海如是，探經海者何獨不然。⁵³

After listing some of the major collections of Buddhist scriptures, including the then very recent Kalaviṅka Hermitage (1913) and Japanese *Zoku zōkyō* (1912) editions, Ding laments that all of this publication work has only made it more difficult for ordinary readers to engage with the texts of the Buddhist canon.⁵⁴ While scriptural publishers like Yang Wenhui had been concerned that there were insufficient good-quality copies of the Buddhist sūtras in circulation, from Ding's perspective, the most urgent problem was how to teach people to read and understand them in such a way that they would not be overwhelmed

⁵³ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 377.

⁵⁴ On the Kalaviṅka Canon and other then recently published editions of the Buddhist canon, see Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter two.

by their complexity. This sentiment is echoed in the prefaces contributed by Dixian and Daojie, mentioned above. Both of them, while aware of the many attempts in the past to provide guides to and interpretation of the scriptures, were glad to see this new effort to address the “differing capacities of sentient beings” and to “bridge the sea” of scriptures.⁵⁵

The relationship of Ding’s work to the concerns and interests of a wider social sphere of Chinese Buddhists is thus reflected in the prefatory notes by writers such as Dixian and Daojie. Ding also maintained written correspondence with Yinguang while the latter was living on Putuoshan 普陀山, in which Yinguang offers his advice and opinion on several aspects of Ding’s series.⁵⁶ The correspondence begins in 1917, when Ding was still studying Buddhist scriptural texts and completing manuscript versions of some of the works that would later be published as part of his collectanea. There are several instances in the letters where Yinguang mentions receiving draft copies of Ding’s works, including his lexicon and *Foxue chujie* 佛學初階 (Initial stages in Buddhist studies), several years before they were to be published. Yinguang offers some advice regarding where certain scriptural texts might be found; an indication that Ding had asked for his help in tracking down the location and provenance of Buddhist texts. Yinguang also observes that although Fayu Temple 法雨寺 on Putuoshan had a Southern Ming (*Nanzang* 南藏) and a Qing (*Longzang* 龍藏) canon, few people ever actually read them.⁵⁷ There are instances of subtle criticism as well, as when he notes that the publication of scriptures is an endeavour that takes much more careful thought than, say, publishing newspapers. When he contrasts the work of monks in ancient times, who would spend a decade or an entire lifetime annotating a single text, to Ding’s voluminous output in the past three years, one may detect a hint of caution beneath Yinguang’s polite language.⁵⁸

Yet Yinguang also displays an keen understanding of at least some aspects of modern print technology, as well as knowledge of the concrete factors behind the production of printed texts. In one of his letters to Ding, Yinguang mentions how a group in Fuding 福鼎, north of Fuzhou 福州, were then having trouble arranging dharma lectures and getting people to continue attending, but if they

55 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 1361, 1654.

56 Ding, *Chouyin jushi ziding Nianpu*, 375–376. Yinguang was known for his emphasis on scriptural study in addition to the recitation of Buddha’s name (*nianfo* 念佛). See Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, vol. 1, 284–288.

57 Shi Yinguang 釋印光, *Yinguang fashi wenchao sanbian* 印光法師文鈔三編 (Taipei: Fotuo jiaoyu jijinhui, 2007), Yinguang to Ding Fubao, Letter 5, 964–966.

58 Yinguang to Ding, Letter 1, 958–960; Letter 5, 964–966.

were instead to give people one of Ding's books to read, then that might be a much more effective strategy for spreading the Dharma.⁵⁹ In another letter, Yinguang relates the story of how he had first become known beyond the confines of Putuoshan thanks to a series of his articles that had appeared in the Buddhist magazine *Foxue congbao* 佛學叢報.⁶⁰ Yet he also critiques movable-type printing because "the ink has a lot of compounds added to it, and will fade eventually," whereas traditional woodblock printing results in a text that will last through the ages, something that he had discussed in correspondence with the publishers of *Foxue congbao*.⁶¹ Even in the relative isolation of Putuoshan, Yinguang was still connected to the rapidly developing Buddhist print culture of the early Republic; critical of some aspects, but enthusiastically supportive of others. Connections such as this indicate that Ding's project was indeed part of broader conversations about publishing among lay and monastic Chinese Buddhists, and that in spite of his lack of a formal Buddhist institutional or master-disciple relationship, Ding was receptive to input from Buddhists through his social connections.

3. Illuminating Scriptures with Exegesis, Awakening Faith with Evidence

Seeking to help those who wished to navigate the turbid sea of Buddhist texts, Ding produced two types of texts for his series: editions of Buddhist scriptures with punctuation, annotation, and explanations added by Ding; and books for beginners, which are primarily collections of evidentiary tales that describe people experiencing the truth of the Buddhist teachings first-hand. In the annotated scriptures, Ding provides an extensive exegesis that cites Buddhist and other classical texts to explain the meaning of passages and terms that would be unfamiliar to a novice reader. As editor and exegete, Ding refrains from presenting any personal insight into the doctrines expressed in the text, preferring instead to let the texts illuminate each other. In the evidentiary tales, Ding addresses the

⁵⁹ Yinguang to Ding, Letter 2, 960–961.

⁶⁰ Described in Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter three.

⁶¹ Yinguang to Ding, Letter 3, 961–962. 『鉛印雖便，究非久遠之計。以鉛印墨中，多加藥汁，久必褪落。宜刊木版，方可傳遠。印光上佛報館書，正為此事。』 Based on an original copy of *Foxue congbao* that I consulted in the library of the Institute of Chinese Literature and Philosophy at Academia Sinica 中央研究院中國文哲研究所, Yinguang's concern may have been misplaced, since its text appears as vibrant and bold as it likely was when it was printed. Its pages, however, have become brittle from the presence of acidic materials used in the paper making process.

doubts he expects readers will have when encountering descriptions of supernatural phenomena in the Buddhist scriptures. To do so he cites passages selected from a wide variety of sources that describe the original author's personal experience with phenomena such as rebirth and karmic retribution.

Buddhist scriptural texts accompanied by Ding's annotations and exegetical notes (*jianzhu* 箋注) make up the core of his Buddhist collectanea, both in terms of primacy—these were the earliest works published in the series—and majority.⁶² If we omit the multi-volume dictionary *Foxue da cidian* 佛學大辭典 (Great dictionary of Buddhist studies), annotated scriptural texts make up the bulk of the collection; in the reprint edition they fill two of the three largest volumes, and of all the titles published in the series between 1918 and 1924, just over half are annotated scriptures. The texts selected for annotation and republication are some of the most central works in the East Asian Buddhist canon, including *Bore poluomiduo xinjing* 般若波羅蜜多心經 (the Heart Sūtra), *Jin'gang bore poluomi jing* 金剛般若波羅蜜經 (the Diamond Sūtra), *Liuzu tanjing* 六祖壇經 (the Platform Sūtra of the Sixth Patriarch), and scriptures relating to Amitābha Buddha 阿彌陀佛 and Guanshiyin 觀世音 and Puxian 普賢 Bodhisattvas. Most of these texts had already been published by Buddhist scriptural presses in the late Qing, but they rarely included a modern author's exegetical gloss.⁶³ At its core this was not a novel approach – annotated scriptures and commentaries on scriptural texts were already an established part of Buddhist literature, but usually the interpretation was highly informed by the author's insight or realization. In his series, Ding instead presents his annotations by drawing upon a vast textual corpus and letting the interpretations of past exegetes and commentators speak to the reader, a product of his background in bibliographic and *kaozheng* scholarship.

In his essay “Jinggao zhu Fojing zhi jushi” 敬告注佛經之居士 (A Respectful Notice to Gentlemen Annotating Scriptures), published in 1921 as part of the prefatory material to his dictionary *Foxue da cidian*, Ding outlines his approach to annotation and his preferred techniques of interpreting and editing scriptural texts. He lists seventeen points that annotators are urged to follow, some of

⁶² Ding preferred 注 over the alternate form 註, since it was the former that was used in the classics. See Ding, “Jinggao zhu Fojing zhi jushi” 敬告注佛經之居士, in Ding Fubao, *Foxue da cidian* 佛學大辭典 (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1921), prefatory material, 1.

⁶³ See, for example, the 1902 catalogue *Foxue shumu biao* 佛學書目表 in Yang Wenhui, *Yang Renshan quanji*, 344–368. Based on that catalogue, the *Heart Sūtra*, the *Sūtra of the Deathbed Injunction*, the *Diamond Sūtra*, the *Amida Sūtra*, the *Sūtra of Unlimited Meanings*, and the *Sūtra of the Meditation on the Buddha of Immeasurable Life* had all already been reprinted by Yang's Jinling Scriptural Press 金陵刻經處.

which specifically address Buddhist scriptures, others of which apply to all classical texts. Some of the central points are: do not make forced interpretations of the text, do not indulge in empty speculation, use scriptural sources to verify scriptural content, avoid spurious scriptures, don't argue with the ancients, and don't argue with contemporaries.⁶⁴ The central theme of these comments is that editors should interfere as little as possible with the content of the texts, and that their personal influence on their interpretation should be minimized. While some Buddhist exegetes are mentioned in the explanations of these guidelines, for the most part he quotes from and refers to famous scholars of the Confucian classics, treating the exegetical task of annotating Buddhist scriptures as being equivalent to that of working with other classical texts. Ding references many of these points in his "Jianjing zaji" 箋經雜記 (Miscellaneous notes on annotating [the] scripture), a series of essays that precede many of the annotated scriptures, in which he discusses bibliographic and interpretive issues relating to the text that they accompany.

Of the twenty annotated scriptural texts in the series, *Jin'gang bore poluomi jing jianzhu* 金剛般若波羅蜜經箋注 (The Diamond of Perfect Wisdom Sūtra, annotated and explained), stands as one of the most preeminent texts in the East Asian Buddhist tradition, and Ding's edition of it will be examined here as a representative example of the structure of most of the other annotated scriptural works in the series. The work opens with a preface that introduces the theme of the scripture and highlights bibliographic considerations such as different extant translations, followed by Ding's notes on annotation that outline the larger exegetical context, a record of miraculous events (*lingyiji* 靈異記) associated with the sūtra, and finally the annotated text itself.⁶⁵ The preface first guides the reader through the historical and interpretive context of the sūtra, providing bibliographic information on the six most commonly-cited translations of the text.⁶⁶ Ding writes that much confusion and misunderstanding has arisen from

64 The full list of points is as follows: 『定書名宜法古人; 注佛經宜用儒書內傳體; 注佛經宜戒穿鑿; 注佛經宜戒空談; 注佛經宜取法李善文選注; 注佛經宜考索名物典故; 注佛經宜梳櫛音義; 注佛經宜以經證經; 注出處有古畧而今詳者注有前後互異者; 箋注宜講文筆; 注佛經宜先通句讀; 注佛經宜講校讐之學; 注佛經宜闢偽經; 注經不可與古人相爭; 注經不可與今人相爭; 經注宜在每句下用雙行小字; 結論.』 Punctuation added. Ding, *Foxue da cidian*, pp. 25–42.

65 Ding's *Foxue da cidian* defines *lingyi* 靈異 as "an abstruse, inconceivable phenomenon." In using this term to signify miraculous events associated with Buddhist teachings rather than the more conventional *ganying* 感應, he may have been following the ninth-century Japanese text *Record of Miracles in Recompense to Good and Evil Manifesting in Japanese Lands* (*Nihongoku genhō zenaku ryōiki* 日本国現報善惡靈異記). See *Foguang da cidian*, 1452.

66 Ding also notes another translation in one fascicle cited in the *Lidai fabao ji* 歷代法寶記 (Record of the Dharma-Jewel through the Generations) which is no longer extant.

focusing on any translation other than that of Kumārajīva (Jiumoluoshi 鳩摩羅什, 344–413), which is the one that he has consulted, but nevertheless all of the extant translations must be compared to each other in order to properly understand the text. The central theme of the Diamond Sūtra is that conventional, discriminatory perception does not reflect ultimate reality, and that words and concepts must be set aside so that one may attain the perfection of wisdom (*prajñāpāramitā*). Ding guides the reader in their interpretation of the text by identifying the three concepts at the core of the scripture: *benti* 本體 (essence), *xiuxing* 修行 (practice), and *jiujing* 究竟 (the final [goal]).⁶⁷ He further explains these with reference to the three types of Buddha nature postulated by Zhiyan 智儼 (602–668) in his exegesis of the *Huayan jing* 華嚴經 (the Avatamsaka Sūtra), giving copious citations of places in the Diamond Sūtra where these concepts might be found.⁶⁸

With the core concepts of the scripture outlined, Ding proceeds to describe to the reader his own role in annotating and explaining the text. He writes that while he worked he maintained a purified mind and body, cut off all extreme thoughts, and took great care with each individual character and meaning. He expresses the hope that in doing so he has not only improved on the annotations of the past, but has also preserved the teachings passed down by the ancients without corrupting them with his own words. This is followed by the scripture's annotation notes (*jianjing zaji*), where he observes that in the past annotated editions of the scripture were either good but relied too much on specialized Buddhist vocabulary, or were easy to understand but full of mistakes. In either case, they were too confusing for a beginning student of Buddhism. Finally he offers a series of stories under the title “Jin’gang jing lingyiji” 金剛經靈異記 (Record of Diamond Sūtra miracles), in which stories are cited from historical sources that demonstrate the power of the sūtra to produce miracles and unusual occurrences in response to reciting or possessing the scripture, ranging from the extension of one’s lifespan, to the granting of sons, to banishing ghosts and protection from weapons.⁶⁹ The examples include stories from Tang- and Song-dynasty collections of anecdotes, grouped under fourteen subject headings. As will be discussed in the latter part of this section, collections of evidence arguing for the reality of scriptural claims would be the central theme of most other titles in the series, but shorter pieces like this also appear as part of the annotated scriptures. In the prefatory material to his annotated Diamond Sūtra, Ding has

⁶⁷ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2575.

⁶⁸ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2576–2578. Zhiyan was later recognized as a patriarch in the Huayan school of Chinese Buddhism.

⁶⁹ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2578–2579, 2586–2610.

thus summarized the main ideas of this scripture and linked them to other important scriptural texts, and he has also drawn the reader's attention to the importance of understanding not only the terminology of this and other canonical texts, but also the history of their translation and interpretation.

Following these extensive prefatory notes is the annotated scriptural text itself. The exegesis and annotation in Ding's works are presented in the form of interlinear notes printed in a smaller font arranged in dual half-columns (*shuanghang xiaozi* 雙行小字) that follow the phrase being discussed, a standard method that had already been widely used in xylographic annotated classical texts. In his preface to the series, Ding notes that his annotation is modeled upon the *xungu* 訓詁 (classical gloss) style employed for the Chinese classics, following editions of the *Erya* 爾雅 (The Literary Expositor), an early dictionary and encyclopedia dating from the third century BCE, and the *Maoshi* 毛詩 (Book of Songs with Mao Prefaces), in citing passages from a wide array of sources in order to explicate the main text.⁷⁰ The similarity of Ding's annotation style to that of annotated classical texts was apparently quite well-known and was used as a selling point in at least one advertisement and book catalogue.⁷¹ In Ding's annotated scriptures, each phrase of the original text, sometimes as short as a single character, is directly followed by Ding's explanation of the phrase's terms and meaning, with passages in related texts cited in support of the interpretation. These referenced texts include other canonical scriptures, commentaries and other annotated editions, often noting the division or section (*pin* 品) of the work where the cited passage can be found; since standard printed editions such as the Taishō Canon had not yet come into widespread use, page numbers are not used in citations.

Ding's exegesis is quite thorough, and assumes little to no previous knowledge on the part of the reader. For example, the first few phrases of the first section of the Diamond Sūtra in Chinese and in Charles Muller's translation are as follows:

如是我聞。一時佛在舍衛國祇樹給孤獨園。與大比丘衆千二百五十人俱。

Thus I have heard. Once, the Buddha was staying in the Jetavana Grove in Śrāvastī with a community of 1250 monks.⁷²

⁷⁰ Yu, *Zhongguo jinxiandai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 425.

⁷¹ "Foxue congshu" 佛學叢書, *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊 3 (1925), MFQ 141:215.

⁷² Chinese text from Chinese Buddhist Electronic Text Association. English translation from <http://www.acmuller.net/bud-canon/diamond_sutra.html>.

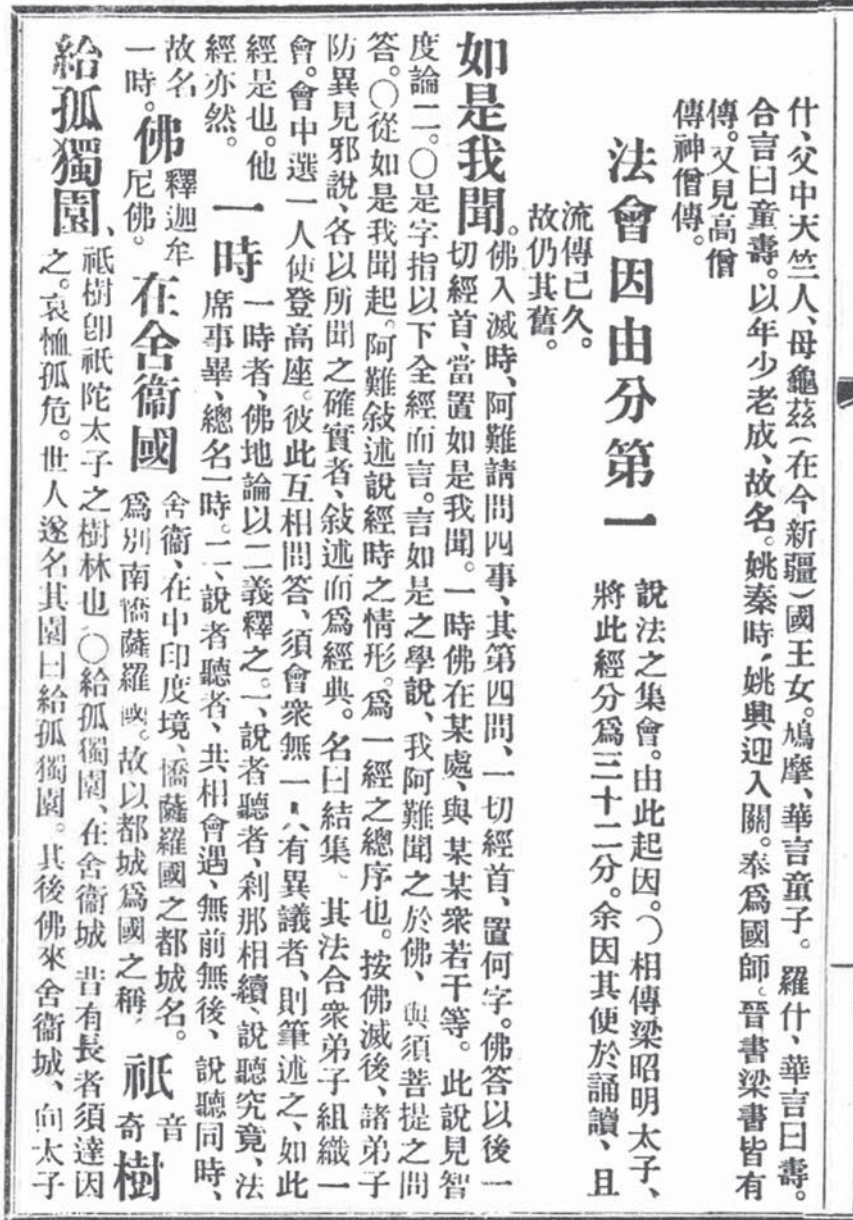


Figure 1: Sample page from Ding's Annotated Diamond Sūtra. Scanned from *Foxue congshu*, 2612.

With Ding's added interlinear notes, these two lines occupy about a full page in the reprint edition, with approximately 460 characters of exegesis used to explicate twenty-nine characters of scriptural text.⁷³ The extensive notes explain how the community of monks, led by Ānanda, assembled after the death of the Buddha to compile the scriptures based on what they had heard him preach; how the *Fodi jinglun* 佛地經論 (Treatise on the Buddha-bhūmi Sūtra) interprets the word "once" in two different ways;⁷⁴ that "the Buddha" refers to Śākyamuni Buddha; that Śrāvastī was a city in northern Kośala in central India, and so on. In addition, he offers a pronunciation guide for uncommon characters and readings of characters, such as 祇 (*qi*) when it appears as part of "Jetavana," by noting a homophonous character, in this case 奇 (*qi*). The annotations included here also differ from those that would later be collected in Ding's Buddhist dictionary *Foxue da cidian*, indicating that in his annotation work, he sought to explicate each term within the context of the particular text rather than in the more broad and generic sense favored in a lexicographical study.⁷⁵ In total, Ding's annotated Diamond Sūtra runs to forty-five double pages, representing three quarters of the volume, with the rest being prefatory notes, but curiously the edition omits the thirty-three character *zhenyan* 真言 (mantra) that normally appears at the end of the text.⁷⁶

In total, Ding published fourteen annotated scriptures in 1918, the first year of the series' publication, with several more published in the years that followed. From 1919 onward this genre of text is first joined by, then eclipsed in number by another, the introductory book (*rumenshu* 入門書) or book for beginning study (*chuxueshu* 初學書). With the inclusion of these titles, which are primarily collections of tales describing experiences of Buddhist merit, karma, and retribution manifesting themselves in the lives of the narrators, Ding demonstrates his concern with proving to the reader that the scriptures have had concrete effects in

73 See Ding, *Foxue congbao*, 2612–2613. Even this level of detail is only an average; sometimes a single phrase of classical text is followed by over a full page of exegesis. In the 1920 work *Xinjing xiangzhu* 心經詳註 (The Heart Sūtra, annotated in detail), Ding supersedes an earlier annotated version of the scripture, which he felt was too brief, with an even more detailed version where a single phrase is usually followed by several pages of annotations. See Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2475–2478 for the preface to this work.

74 Specifically, as meaning either that the speaking and the hearing of the sūtra were separated by only a instant (*chana* 刹那), or that they occur at the exact same time.

75 The dictionary definition for *yishi* 一時, for example, cites instead the first fascicle of *Guan wuliang shou Fojing shu* 觀無量壽佛經疏 by Shandao 善導 (613–681).

76 The mantra is rendered phonetically, and is included in the Taishō canon edition of the scripture: 『那謨婆伽跋帝 鉢喇壤 波羅弭多曳 唵 伊利底 伊室利 輸盧駄 毘舍耶 毘舍 耶 莎婆訶。』 T08.235 p.752 c05–07.

the world throughout history. Similar thematic collections of miracle tales had been produced in medieval China by Daoxuan 道宣 (596–667) and other authors, collections which themselves were often assembled from a range of other sources.⁷⁷ Ding presents these tales for the novice reader in order to, as one of the titles in the series terms it, “awaken faith in Buddhist Studies.”⁷⁸ To Ding, publishing Buddhist texts was thus not only a matter of making them legible and comprehensible to the readers, but also of establishing their relevance as objects embodying a very real super-normal power.

Buddhist books written for novices and based on the model of the educational textbook had begun to appear in the late Qing with *Fojiao chuxue keben* 佛教初學課本 (Primer of Buddhism for beginning students), published by Yang Wenhui in 1906, and was followed by brief articles in the Buddhist magazine *Foxue congbao* such as “Foxue qianshuo” 佛學淺說 (Elementary explanation of Buddhist Studies) in issue 1 (1912), and Yang’s “Shizong lüeshuo” 十宗畧說 (Brief explanation of the Ten Schools) in issue 4 (1913).⁷⁹ More recently, commercial presses in Shanghai had begun to publish their own introductory Buddhist books. *Foxue dagang* 佛學大綱 (Outline of Buddhist studies) by Xie Meng 謝蒙 (Xie Wuliang 謝無量, 1884–1964), published by Zhonghua Books in 1916, has one volume that surveys the history of Buddhism from the life of Śakyamuni to the formation of the Chinese Buddhist schools, with the second volume focusing on the foundations of Buddhist doctrine, epistemology, and ethics. *Foxue yijie* 佛學易解 (Simple explication of Buddhist studies), published in Shanghai by the Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館) in 1917 and later reprinted in 1919 and 1926, was another example of this genre, written by Jia Fengzhen 賈豐臻 (fl. 1910s–1930s) who later also published an introductory book on philosophy and a history of *lixue* 理學 (Neo-Confucian

77 See Koichi Shinohara, “Dao-xuan’s Collection of Miracle Stories about ‘Supernatural Monks,’” *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 3 (April 1990): 319–379.

78 The title is *Foxue qixin bian* 佛學起信編, which Ding references in his preface to *Foxue da cidian* as representative of the books for the beginners in general. The use of *qixin* in the title is likely a reference to the well-known text *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith).

79 MFQ 1:41–8, 2:21–27. Yang’s textbook continued to be reprinted and sold through the 1940s. See for example *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊, issues 217 and 233, reprinted in Huang Xianian 黃夏年, ed., *Minguo Fojiao qikan wenxian jicheng bubian* 民國佛教期刊文獻集成補編, vol. 65 (Beijing: Zhongguo shudian, 2008), 108, 377. This collection is hereafter cited as MFQB. For a broader survey of Buddhist books for beginners that includes part of the discussion presented here, see Scott, “The Publishing of Buddhist Books for Beginners.”

scholarship).⁸⁰ These works were intended for use not in a classroom setting, as with a textbook, but rather as self-study guides for the independent reader. As such they assumed minimal background knowledge on the part of the student. Ding's books for beginners were structured in much the same way, with each title presenting a similar body of material in a different style, rather than building upon each other like a series of textbooks each designed for a different level of student or pedagogical stage.

Two lay Buddhist authors contributed to Ding's books for beginners. The first, Mei Guangxi 梅光羲 (Mei Xieyun 梅擷芸, 1880–1947), had studied under Yang Wenhui from 1902, and was later made one of the trustees of the Jinling Scriptural Press after Yang's death. In 1903 Mei was sent by then-Viceroy of Huguang 湖廣 Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909) to Japan to receive a military education, and after his return worked as a government official in various posts throughout the country. He had also been a member of a scriptural recitation society in Beijing, and was a co-founder of the Beijing Scriptural Press 北京刻經處 along with Xu Weiru 徐蔚如 (1878–1937); he later became well-known for his studies of the Consciousness-only (*weishi* 唯識) school of Buddhist philosophy.⁸¹ Mei was well-connected to the network of publishers and authors that had grown out of Yang's press, but by the time Ding's series was published he had moved to Ji'nan 濟南 in Shandong province, somewhat removed from the Buddhist publishing centers of Shanghai, Nanjing, and Beijing. Although he was not directly involved in the project, Wan Jun 萬鈞 (Wan Shuhao 萬叔豪, fl. 1921–1936) is credited as the source of many of the stories included therein. Little is known of his biography, but Wan was active as an author and publisher; he was the an-

⁸⁰ Xie was a schoolteacher and scholar of Chinese literature and Buddhist history. See the very short introduction to the reprint edition of his book in Lan Jifu 藍吉富, ed., *Xiandai Foxue daxi* 現代佛學大系 (Taipei: Mile chuban she, 1984), vol. 46. Xie uses 心理學 to describe the second field covered in the latter volume, and although this term is used to denote psychology in modern Chinese, I have translated it as epistemology because the section deals with theories of the *dharma-lakṣaṇa* 法相, *prajñā* 般若, and *tathāgata-garbha* 如來藏 schools. Zhu Ziqing 朱自清 mentions Jia's book in his article "Maishu" 買書 (Buying Books) in *Shuixing* 水星 (Mercury) 1, no. 4 (Jan. 10, 1935.) Jia also wrote an article on religion in education that was published in 1927 in the Buddhist periodical *Dayun yuekan* 大雲月刊. See MFQ 138:120–126.

⁸¹ See Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter 1; Dongchu, *Zhongguo Fojiao jindai shi*, vol. 2, 650–660; Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1002–1004. See also the short eulogy by Fan Gunong 范古農 published in 1947, MFQ 89:235. *Haichao yin* published a short article in 1945 on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday, MFQ 202:113–114. One of Mei's best-known works is *Xiang-zong gangyao* 相宗綱要 (Essential outline of the Faxiang school), first published in 1920 in Ji'nan 濟南 where Mei was posted at the time, and subsequently in 1921 by the Commercial Press. See *Fozang jiyao* 佛藏輯要, vol. 21 (Chengdu: Bashu shushe, 1993), 113–164. A supplementary volume later appeared in 1926.

notator of the edition of Yang's *Fojiao zongpai xiangzhu* 佛教宗派詳註 (Detailed annotated Buddhist schools and sects) that was published by the Shanghai Medical Press in 1921.⁸² He was also the founder of the Central Scriptural Press 中央刻經院 in Beijing in 1926.⁸³ Most of the editing and annotations, however, are credited to Ding alone.

One of the earliest of the eight introductory texts in the series, *Foxue qixin bian* 佛學起信編 (Awakening of Faith in Buddhist Studies, 1919), includes a preface by Ding that outlines the reasoning behind collecting the material for this genre of book:

As preface I will say that the aspects of the Buddhist scriptures that most cause people to doubt them are causality spanning the three periods [past, present, and future], and rebirth in the six realms. Because of these, when beginners read the scriptures, they usually have suspicions. If they don't take them to be myths of high antiquity, then they interpret them as parables of the philosophers. Among those whose mind of faith (*xinxin* 信心)⁸⁴ is not strong, there are many who stop halfway along the path. If one wishes to plumb the abstruse teachings of the Buddhist scriptures, one must take a mind of faith as one's basis. Further, those who wish to obtain a mind of faith cannot but first seek proof of causality spanning the three periods and rebirth in the six realms. This type of evidence is not something that can be satisfied by empty words, nor something that one could exhaustively obtain even after decades of reading.

One must, from the writings of the great scholars of the past several hundred years, those such as Wang Yuyang 王漁洋 [1634–1711], Ji Xiaolan 紀曉嵐 [1724–1805], Yuan Zicai 袁子才 [1716–1797], Yu Quyuan 俞曲園 [1821–1907], Bo Shuyun 薛叔耘 [d.u.], and other masters, seek out the evidence which is sufficient to aid us in giving rise to correct faith in beginning students. [One must] organize and collate it, verify and categorize it, and only then can one person obtain the reading experience of several hundred years.

叙曰，佛經中之最足以起人疑者，曰三世因果，曰六道輪迴。故初學驟閱經典，輒生疑竇。非以為太古之神話，即以為哲學家之寓言。所以信心不堅，半途中止者為不少也。夫欲深通佛經之奧旨者，必以信心為本。然欲得信心者，非先求三世因果六道輪迴之實證不可。此種證據，非空言所可塞責。非一人在數十年中之閱歷所可盡知。必在近世數百年中之大學問家，如王漁洋紀曉嵐袁子才俞曲園薛叔耘等諸先生之筆記中，搜尋其足以佐我之證據以起初學之正信者，分類而匯錄之，據事而類推之，則一人而有數百年之閱歷矣。⁸⁵

⁸² Note that the entry in Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, for 萬鈞 refers to the pen name of a different individual.

⁸³ See Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter five, section four.

⁸⁴ Possibly a direct reference to *Xinxin ming* 信心銘 (Inscription of Faith in Mind) attributed to Sengcan 僧璨 (d. 606). See Sheng Yen, *Faith in Mind: A Guide to Chan Practice* (New York: Dharma Drum Publishing, 1987).

⁸⁵ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 2:147–148.

Ding identifies a lack of belief in karma (*yinguo* 因果) and rebirth (*lunhui* 輪迴), two of the central doctrines underpinning Buddhist ethics, cosmology, and eschatology, as a major problem facing those who try to begin Buddhist studies. The solution is for readers to find evidence for these doctrines, but such evidence is scattered among countless texts and would require a lifetime to acquire; luckily, scholars of the past have already collected such evidence for us, and Ding suggests that if we rely on their insights then we can indeed find the evidence we need to foster a mind of faith.

The difficulties Ding sees among novice students of Buddhism are precisely those that he himself had faced during his initial foray into reading Buddhist scriptures. Later in this preface he relates how after he became fond of reading scriptures in 1914, he searched for textual evidence to support those concepts that were difficult to believe, and how in this and other works he has collected relevant proofs from the scholars and literati of ages past to provide the reader with sufficient evidence to cultivate a “mind of faith.” Indeed, the books for beginners in his series are overwhelmingly focused on these types of evidentiary questions. Apart from offering evidence for causality and rebirth as mentioned in the preface above, the books offer stories as proof for the existence of different types of spirits, the underworld, and rewards for filiality and generosity, with most themes appearing in several titles. They also include several sections that explore the historical development of Buddhism in Indian and Chinese history; a different type of “evidence” than that provided by narrative tales, but one which would become increasingly important in Buddhist publications.⁸⁶ Additionally, most of these books offer suggestions for further reading, either by listing the titles and abstracts of Ding’s annotated scriptures as in *Foxue chujie* 佛學初階 (Initial stages in Buddhist Studies, 1920), or even more directly through advertisements for other publications by Ding’s press, including the dictionaries *Foxue da cidian*, and *Foxue xiao cidian* 佛學小辭典 by Sun Zulie 孫祖烈.⁸⁷

These issues of belief in the existence of spirits and the need for textual evidence are explicated most pointedly in the first chapter of *Foxue cuoyao* 佛學撮

⁸⁶ For example, the entire second section (*bian* 編) of *Foxue zhinan* 佛學指南 (Guide to Buddhist Studies, 1919) is a series of surveys of the historical and doctrinal outlines of Buddhism. See Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 356–374, 433–488. Histories of Buddhism written by Chinese Buddhist authors would begin to appear in the 1920s and 1930s, with two of the most comprehensive being Jiang Weiqiao 蔣維喬, *Zhongguo Fojiao shi* 中國佛教史 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1933) and Huang Chanhua 黃讖華, *Zhongguo Fojiao shi* 中國佛教史 (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1940).

⁸⁷ Starting to read *Yiyue jingdian* 宜閱經典 (Scriptures suitable for reading) is actually the eighth “stage” of beginning Buddhist studies described in the book. Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 755–766. Advertisements appear on pp. 680, 890.

要 (Elementary outline of Buddhist Studies), a brief but pithy title in the series first published in 1920 and later reprinted in 1935. A publisher's note on the inside cover states that the book was being offered for sale at four cents each, half the normal price, to help recoup the costs of printing the 4000 copies, and that reprinting and distributing the book would bring measureless merit, indicating that it was not intended to produce a financial profit for Ding's press, but rather fits into the model of meritorious publishing.⁸⁸ The first chapter explains the genesis of the book through a rhetorical conversation between Ding and fellow Wuxi native Han Xuwen 韓學文, and this conversational mode is sustained throughout the rest of the text, with Han posing questions and Ding offering responses supported by selected textual passages.⁸⁹ Han brings up a passage from one of Ding's published books on medicine which states that no spirit exists after death, and uses this to argue that the teachings of the Buddhist scriptures, and indeed of all religions, are false superstitions that ought to be swept away. Ding replies that he edited that book some twenty-five years previously, and that back then his experience and learning were so narrow as to cause that mistaken view; he then cites a number of experts in different fields of learning who all believe in the existence of spirits, saying that only those who are still at an early stage of study would deny their existence.⁹⁰ As for the claims that such beliefs are superstition, Ding points out that superstitions are only so if they are not true, whereas spirits, karma, and rebirth all have definite evidence to prove their existence, and encourages Han to read certain books to see such evidence for himself. After a night of study, Han is converted from his erroneous views, and asks Ding to guide him further in the reading of Buddhist scriptures, saying "Sir, you first used medicine to treat my body, then used scholarship to treat my soul. Once the body is exhausted, the soul lasts forever, how can I repay you!"

⁸⁸ On publishing for merit, see also the chapters by Wang and Katz in this volume.

⁸⁹ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 33–39. The frontispiece notes that the costs of printing were 160 yuan, of which 100 yuan remained to be raised. This is close to but slightly different from the story told in the opening chapter, mentioned below. One bibliographic entry for this title, S0194 in the *Digital Catalogue of Chinese Buddhism*, is listed as being a seventh printing, raising the possibility that this or a similar work had been in print for some time, perhaps privately, before being published through the Shanghai Medical Press. Whether Han was a historical person is as yet unknown.

⁹⁰ Han also mentions that those who study new learning are all calling out loudly to expel these "absurd doctrines," and that there are some who publish printed material that is spread to every province. The experts Ding mentions in response include one Yu Zhonghuan 俞仲還, who twenty years previously had established the Three Equalities Academy 三等學堂 in Chong'an Temple 崇安寺, and who later also helped establish Wenming Books, the publishing house through which Ding had issued many of his early works.

Ding instructs Han to read four other works that appear in the Buddhist Studies series, as well as the essentials from *Dengbudeng guan zalu* 等不等觀雜錄 (Miscellaneous records of observing equality and inequality) by Yang Wenhui. The chapters that follow this exchange continue this theme of presenting evidence for the existence of spirits and other supernatural phenomena in order to satisfy Han's questions regarding Buddhist doctrines.⁹¹

Ding's books for beginners are thus focused, not on issues of language and explication as in his annotated scriptures, but rather on the problem of lack of belief and the need for evidence to support the claims made in the scriptural texts. These claims described phenomena that went beyond the material world described by science, the existence and nature of which were then subjects of intense and public debate in modern China. While the May Fourth era of the nineteen-teens brought calls for the study of "Mr. Science" (Sai Xiansheng 賽先生), in the open intellectual environment of the early Republic many groups were dedicated to the study of spiritualism (*lingxue* 靈學), inspired partly by its popularity in late-Victorian Europe and North America.⁹² From 1918 to 1920 Zhonghua Books published the periodical *Lingxue congzhi* 靈學叢誌 (Journal of Spiritualism) for the Shanghai lingxuehui 上海靈學會 (Shanghai Spiritualist Society), and advertisements and articles relating to the society appear in the Buddhist periodicals *Jueshe congshu* 覺社叢書, *Haichao yin* 海潮音, and *Foxue yuekan* 佛學月刊. This group, with which Ding Fubao was directly involved, sought to investigate and document spiritual phenomena by drawing upon a multitude of East Asian and European textual sources, and reflects a widespread openness toward the supernatural among the cultural and political elite of Republican China.⁹³ The Buddhist monk Taixu, in contrast, remained opposed to recognizing the supernatural aspects of the Buddhist tradition and stressed instead its human and social elements, a stream of thought that would later develop into Humanistic Buddhism (*renjian Fojiao* 人間佛教). Ding, like the spiritualists, insists on the truth of Buddhism's extra-material aspects, and recommends that anyone who doubts them need look no further than the evidence recorded

⁹¹ The texts are *Foxue chujie* 佛學初階, *Foxue qixin bian* 佛學起信編, *Foxue zhi jichu* 佛學之基礎, and *Foxue zhinan* 佛學指南. On *Dengbudeng guan zalu*, see Goldfuss, *Vers un bouddhisme du XXe siècle*, 231.

⁹² For a discussion of how scientific discourses of evidence impacted understandings of spiritualist phenomena in Victorian England, see Peter Lamont, "Spiritualism and a Mid-Victorian Crisis of Evidence," *The Historical Journal* 47, no. 4 (2004): 897–920.

⁹³ See Huang Kewu 黃克武, "Minguo chunian Shanghai de lingxue yanjiu: yi Shanghai lingxuehui weili" 民國初年上海的靈學研究：以「上海靈學會」為例, *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo jikan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 55 (2007): 99–136.

in textual sources. “Chuyue Fojing zhi xiashou chu” 初閱佛經之下手處 (Where to start when beginning to read Buddhist scriptures), a list of titles in his series accompanied by short précis, is appended at the end of *Foxue cuoyao*. The listed books include quoted endorsements by Yinguang—“This book is indeed able to open one’s mind and stimulate the thinking of the next generation; of all the books that [Ding] has written, the benefits of this one are the most comprehensive”—and one by Daojie, and each listing of an annotated scripture is accompanied by an outline of its content and history.⁹⁴ Books in the series similarly refers the reader to other titles in the series, either through references in the prefatory matter, or more directly through book lists such as this appended to the text.

While annotated scriptures and books for beginners were both already important genres within the Buddhist textual corpus, in Ding’s series they were re-invented and intended to play new types of roles. The annotations in the scriptural texts rely not on the editor’s personal insight, but rather on guiding the reader toward cross-checking terms and teachings across several Buddhist texts, and investigating matters for themselves rather than following the religious guidance of an instructor. The Buddhist teachings, according to Ding, were inherent in the texts themselves, existing in the connections and relationships between the content of many different texts, and the core problem in understanding them lay in their great number and complexity. His exegesis sought to hew as close as possible to the grain of the text, even writing in formal, classical language rather than in print colloquial (*baihua* 白話), which was quickly spreading as an accessible print language in China.⁹⁵ His books for beginners, on the other hand, focused on problems of belief and evidence, rather than introducing the reader to a few select parts of the canon, or laying out the structures and patterns of the Buddhist tradition in easily understood terms, as earlier textbooks like Yang Wenhui’s had done. In this he pursued a parallel course to that of his earlier studies of medicine, where truth was to be found not in one’s interpretation of the material, but in studying what others had discovered and the evidence they have recorded to support their claims. In several instances Ding’s works liken Buddhism to a medicine for the mind, and the connection to hygiene and health was at times made much more directly: appended to *Foxue cuoyao*, for example, is a brief essay entitled “Weisheng yaoyu shize” 衛生要語十則 (Ten essential phrases for protecting life) that lists ten practices

94 『此書洵足以發聾振聵，啓迪後人，疇隱所著各書，惟此為益最溥。』 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 131–140.

95 A book from 1925, for example, presented the Diamond Sūtra with colloquial explanations, and was surtitled *xinshi biaodian* 新式標點 (punctuated in the new style). See its entry in the *Digital Catalogue of Chinese Buddhism*, S0474.

that address physical and mental health: sleeping eight hours per night, deep breathing exercises, moderation in carnal desires, brisk walking exercises, and so on.⁹⁶ The books in Ding's series were thus oriented toward providing the individual reader the tools they needed to study Buddhism for themselves, to apprehend the teachings of the Buddhist scriptures without the help of an outside instructor, and to build up their own hermeneutic strategies based on material that Ding has selected from the Buddhist textual canon. The effect would be like medicine on people's minds, empowering them toward greater health and understanding. This overall orientation is best exemplified in Ding's dictionary of Buddhist Studies, the largest single work in the series and the first of its kind in modern China.

4. Buddhist Lexicography

Lexicography was at the core of Ding's decade-long involvement with Buddhist studies. As a bibliophile and book collector, he began compiling his own lexicon of Buddhist terms to help him read and understand the scriptures that he was adding to his collection. Textual exegesis is a central topic throughout his annotated scriptures and books for beginners, and the publication of his *Foxue da cidian* 佛學大辭典 (Great dictionary of Buddhist studies) in 1921 marked not only the completion of the core of his Buddhist collectanea, but also the beginning of a shift in his interests toward other religious traditions. His dictionary has since become a key source for the study of Chinese Buddhist lexicography, having been reprinted a number of times, most recently as a digital edition online.⁹⁷ Apart from its legacy as a scholarly reference book, the dictionary is important for a number of reasons. Like annotated scriptures and books for beginners, lexicographical works were already part of the Chinese Buddhist textual corpus, but the provenance and structure of Ding's dictionary were both unprecedented in this context, introducing new organizational and exegetical features. Additionally, the influence of Japanese Buddhist scholarship was a new factor, as Ding's

⁹⁶ Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 141–142.

⁹⁷ Ding Fubao, *Foxue da cidian* 佛學大辭典, 16 vols. (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, 1921). Included in the dictionary is Ding's autobiographical chronology, *Chouyin jushi ziding nianpu* 疇隱居士自訂年譜. A third edition was issued in 1929. The first post-1949 reprint was issued by the Huayan lianshe 華嚴蓮社 in Taipei in 1956 in 4 volumes, and many reprints have followed. An HTML version of the dictionary is maintained by the *Shizi hou* 師子吼 (Lion's Roar) Buddhist Studies Group of National Taiwan University at <<http://cbs.ntu.edu.tw/dict/dfb/data/>>, also currently mirrored at <<http://buddhaspace.org/dict/dfb/data/>>.

work is essentially a translation of a Japanese-language Buddhist dictionary first published in 1917. Previously, Buddhist texts from China had been widely disseminated in Japan, but for Japanese Buddhist scholarly works to make their way into China was, until the early Republic, much more rare. Finally, the dictionary was closely tied to Ding's persona as an author and scholar, and more than any other work in the series seeks to exemplify the values and techniques that Ding saw as constitutive of "Buddhist Studies."

The variety of methods, source texts, and exegetical strategies used by different Chinese translators of Buddhist texts in different eras gave rise to a large number of newly-coined and re-purposed Chinese terms through the Eastern Han 東漢 (25–220) to the Tang 唐 (618–907) dynasties. One of the first efforts to standardize the meaning and pronunciation of this emergent Buddhist Hybrid Chinese was *Yiqie jing yinyi* 一切經音義 (Sounds and meanings for all [the words in the] scriptures, 810 CE) by Xuanying 玄應 (fl. mid. 7th c.) and Huilin 慧琳 (737–820). This lexicon provides explanations for individual characters and terms from 1,220 different Buddhist texts, corrects mistaken translations that were then in use, and provides phonetic Sanskrit original terms for specialist Buddhist words.⁹⁸ Similar types of lexicographic studies were produced throughout medieval and early-modern Chinese history, up to the compilation of *Wuyi hebi jiyao* 五譯合璧集要 (Essential collection of comparative translations from five languages), published during the Qianlong 乾隆 era (1735–1796) of the Qing dynasty. Reflecting the polyglot nature of the Qing state, this text presents translations of key Buddhist terms in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchurian, Mongolian, and Chinese.⁹⁹ In the nineteenth century no new major compilations of Buddhist lexicography were produced in East Asia, but from the first decade of the twentieth century Japanese Buddhist scholars began to publish dictionaries and other

⁹⁸ Tso Sze-bong [Cao Shibang] 曹仕邦, "Lun Chen Yuan: Zhongguo Fojiao shiji gailun" 論陳垣: 《中國佛教史籍概論》, *Chung-Hwa Buddhist Journal* 中華佛學學報, no. 3 (1990): 268–270. <http://ccbs.ntu.edu.tw/FULLTEXT/JR-BJ001/03_12.htm>. Xuanying, who assisted the great translator-monk Xuanzang 玄奘 (ca. 602–664) in his translation work, starting compiling a lexicon but died before it could be finished, leaving a 25-fascicle manuscript. Huilin expanded Xuanying's work and incorporated material from other authors, compiling it into his *Huilin yinyi* 慧琳音義 in 100 fascicles. The work appears as T 54 no. 2128. Translation of title adapted from that in the *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*.

⁹⁹ This dictionary was reprinted as *Pentaglot Dictionary of Buddhist Terms* in Delhi in 1961. See the entry in the Glossaries for Buddhist Studies collection of Dharma Drum Buddhist College, <<http://buddhistinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/glossaries/glossaries.php#pentaglot>>, which also has a digital edition that omits the Tibetan for download.

types of specialized Buddhist reference books.¹⁰⁰ One of the earliest was *Kaisetsu bongogaku* 解説梵語學 (Explication of Sanskrit linguistics), published in 1907 by the Jōdo-Shinshū-affiliated Buddhist Scholar Sakaki Ryōzaburō 榊亮三郎 (1872–1946). Scholarly publications were part of a concerted effort on the part of Meiji-era Japanese Buddhists to argue for Buddhism’s status as a valid academic and scientific subject, and these dictionaries were one aspect of a much larger set of historiographical, philosophical, and exegetical works then being published in Japan. Modern dictionaries differed from earlier lexicographical works in having a more developed organizational structure, with indices so that readers can quickly find a particular term, and in the citation of a wide range of source texts as evidence for the editor’s interpretation.

Ding already had had a great deal of experience in translating Japanese-language medical texts when he selected *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Great dictionary of Buddhism, 1917) to translate as the basis for his Buddhist dictionary.¹⁰¹ Its author, Oda Tokunō 織田得能 (1860–1911), was, like many other Japanese Buddhist scholars of his era, a Jōdo Shinshū 淨土真宗 priest and a member of the Higashi Honganji 東本願寺 sub-sect. He traveled to different Buddhist lands, studying in Thailand from 1888 to 1891, visiting China in March 1900 and from there heading to India, returning home to Japan in April of the following year. He later applied his lexicographical skills to other projects, publishing an annotated translation of a commentary by Fazang 法藏 (643–712) on the *Dasheng qixin lun* 大乘起信論 (Awakening of Mahāyāna Faith) in 1910.¹⁰² His dictionary, however, which he began to compile in 1898 while still working abroad, was his magnum opus. A fictional and fairly melodramatic stage play based on his final days portrays Oda neglecting his priestly duties, his wife’s attentions,

100 For an outline of some of these early works, as well as those that followed later in the Shōwa and Heisei eras, see Yu Chongsheng 余崇生, “Ribon Fojiao gongju shu bianji tese lüeshu” 日本佛教工具書編輯特色略述, *Fojiao tushuguan guankan* 佛教圖書館館刊, no. 47 (June 2008): 98–102.

101 Oda Tokunō, *Bukkyō Daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Ōkura shuten 大倉書店, 1917). An expanded and corrected twelfth edition was published in 1929, an original copy of which I was able to consult at the National Taiwan University library. The 1962 reprint edition has the same content and pagination as this edition in a smaller page and font size.

102 Richard M. Jaffe, “Seeking Śākyamuni: Travel and the Reconstruction of Japanese Buddhism,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 30, no. 1 (2004): 84fn47; Yoshimoto Takaake, “On Tenkō, or Ideological Conversion” in *Translation in Modern Japan*, ed. Indra Levy (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2010), 119fn7. “Shikō sōzu Oda Tokunō shi ryakushi” 嗣講僧都織田得能師略歴 in Oda, *Bukkyō daijiten*, unpaginated prefatory material. For an English translation of *Dasheng qixin lun*, see Āsvaghosha, attrib., *The Awakening of Faith, attributed to Āsvaghosha. Translated, with commentary, by Yoshito S. Hakeda* (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1967.)

and his health to work on his manuscript.¹⁰³ The dictionary is a massive text: the 1929 expanded and corrected edition runs to over two thousand pages. Entries are ordered by the first syllable of their Japanese pronunciation, with an alphabetical index of Romanized terms, followed by a stroke-order index at the end. Sadly, however, Oda would die before its completion, leaving it to his friends and colleagues Takakusu Junjirō 高楠順次郎 (1866–1945), Haga Yaichi 芳賀矢一 (1867–1927), Ueda Kazutoshi 上田萬年 (1867–1937), and Nanjō Bunyu 南条文雄 (1849–1927) to complete and publish the work. Oda's dictionary was a major production; Takakusu and Nanjō were two of the leading figures of Japanese Buddhist scholarship of that day, and Haga and Ueda were prominent scholars of *kokugaku* 國學, the study of nativist Japanese history, literature, and language.¹⁰⁴ Oda himself figures large as the authorial persona behind the work. An inset image in the prefatory material to the 1929 edition of his dictionary depicts him on pilgrimage to ancient ruins while revising his manuscript, a sample sheet of which is pictured in the background.

In China, the first decade of the Republic was a foundational era for modern scholarship on Chinese lexicography, and in publishing dictionaries for scholarly, official, professional, and general use.¹⁰⁵ Two important publications were both issued in 1915: *Zhonghua da zidian* 中華大字典 (Great Zhonghua dictionary), published by Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 (Zhonghua Books), lists the meaning and pronunciation for some 48,000 characters, and is based on the contents of the *Kangxi zidian* 康熙字典 (Kangxi dictionary) of 1716. The other, *Ciyuan* 辭源 (Origins of words), published by Zhonghua's competitor Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press), focuses on the definition of words of two or more characters, and includes more encyclopedic content. The appearance of these publications reflects both the ability of the print technology of the time to handle very large, complex, and dense texts, as well as the emergence of a

103 Chigiri Kōsai 知切光歳, "Tokuno Oda," in *Buddhist Plays from Japanese Literature*, translated by Umeyo Hirano (Tokyo: CIIB [Cultural Interchange Institute for Buddhists]; Kenkyusha Printing Co., 1962), 60–74.

104 Takakusu was later involved in compiling and publishing the Taishō Canon; Haga and Ueda both served as president of Kokugakuin University 國學院大學 in Tokyo; Nanjō is mentioned in connection with Yang Wenhui in Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter 1. Before Ding's translation was published, Oda's dictionary was not unknown in China. A brief translated section of preface and a few sample entries appear in the periodical *Jueshe congshu* 覺社叢書, no. 2 (Jan., 1919) and no. 4 (July, 1919), MFQ 7:249–250, MFQB 1:68–71.

105 For a related discussion on how Republican-era Chinese scholars "rediscovered" the Song-dynasty architectural manual *Yingzao fashi* 營造法式 (Treatise on Architectural Methods, 1103), see Li Shiqiao, "Reconstituting Chinese Building Tradition: The *Yingzao fashi* in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 62, no. 4 (2003): 470–489.

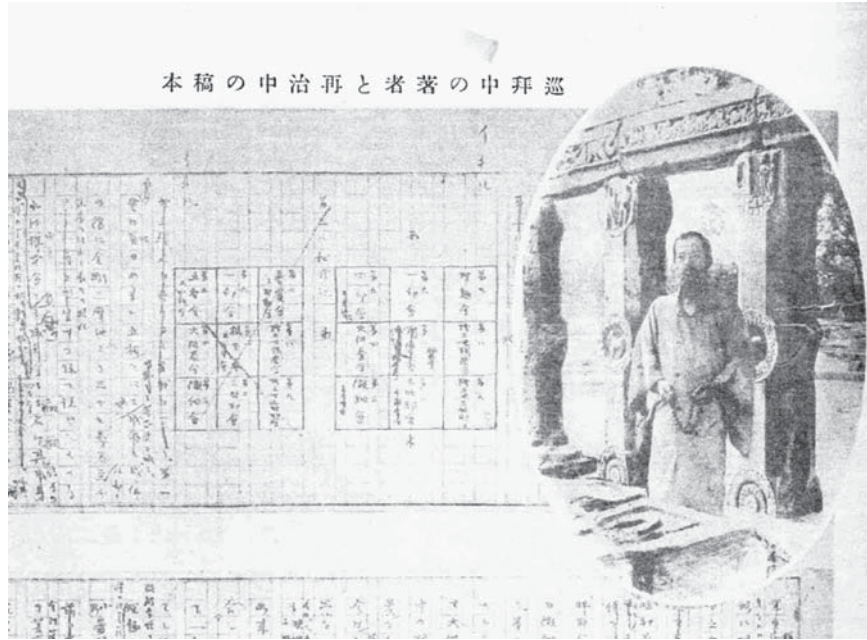


Figure 2: Oda Tokunō as depicted in his *Bukkyō Daijiten*. Cropped image, scanned from a photocopy of the original supplied by the National Taiwan University Library.

growing market of literate readers in need of a guide to word meanings and origins. In the first decades of the twentieth century Chinese Buddhists, however, had not yet embraced lexicography as had Buddhists in Japan, and works such as *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (Compilation of translated Buddhist terms) by the Song-dynasty monk Fayun 法雲 (1088–1158) were still being reprinted.¹⁰⁶ Just three years before the publication of Ding's dictionary, *Fo Erya* 佛爾雅 (The Buddhist literary expositor), written by the Qing *jinshi* 進士 official Zhou Chun 周春 (1729–1815), had been reprinted in Shanghai by the Guoxue fulunshe 國學扶論社 (Society to Support Discussion of National Learning). Like its classical namesake *Erya* 爾雅 (The literary expositor), *Fo Erya* is a dictionary-encyclopedia with pithy explanations of Buddhist terms and phrases grouped by type.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ One edition of *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 was printed by the Jinling Scriptorial Press in 1878. See *Digital Catalogue of Chinese Buddhism*, S2108.

¹⁰⁷ The term *mohe* 摩訶, for example, is glossed simply as 'big' *da* 大. Zhou Chun 周春, *Fo Erya* 佛爾雅 (Shanghai: Guoxue fulunshe, 1917 [original preface dated 1791]). Before this reprint was

Works such as these were valuable resources for the study of Buddhist lexicography, but they lacked the valuable indices of new-style dictionaries, and did not reflect the latest scholarship on textual origins, sources, and translation.

Missionary and Orientalist scholars, meanwhile, were among the pioneers of compiling multilingual Chinese dictionaries to help in their publishing and research efforts. The groundbreaking Chinese-English dictionary by the Anglo-Scottish missionary Robert Morrison (馬禮遜, 1782–1834) was first published in Macao from 1819 to 1823 and reprinted in Shanghai in 1865, and *Hua-Ying zidian* 華英字典 (A Chinese-English Dictionary) by Herbert Giles (翟理斯, 1845–1935) was published in Shanghai in 1892 and in London in 1912.¹⁰⁸ By the late 1910s European and North American scholars were producing dictionaries specifically for religious terminology such as *Xinyue Xi-Han-Ying zidian* 新約希漢英字典 (Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary of the New Testament) by John Leighton Stuart (司徒雷登, 1876–1962).¹⁰⁹ While studies of Chinese lexicography were proliferating among Chinese and foreign presses, dictionaries were playing a central role in the growth of general literacy among the citizens of the new republic, and in the development of *guoxue* 國學 (National Learning). By the 1920s there were a few people who began to suggest that a newly-compiled Buddhist lexicon would be of great use to Chinese Buddhists, and that the lexicographical works of dynasties past were no longer sufficient.¹¹⁰

Foxue da cidian, translated and edited by Ding Fubao, was the first major newly-produced Chinese-language Buddhist dictionary since the mid-Qing. The work consists of several prefaces by Ding and others, a note on annotating scriptures,¹¹¹ a series of four photographic images of Ding Fubao, the main section of lexicographic entries, an autobiographical chronology (*ziding nianpu* 自訂年譜) covering Ding's life up to 1921, a set of general remarks, and finally a

published, this text was mentioned briefly in *Fojiao yuebao* 佛教月報, no. 2 (June, 1913), MFQ 5:442–443.

108 Robert Morrison, *A Dictionary of the Chinese Language in Three Parts* (Macao: East India Company, 1819–1823); Herbert Giles, *A Chinese-English Dictionary* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Ltd., 1892; London: B. Quaritch, 1912).

109 John Leighton Stuart, *Xinyue Xi-Han-Ying zidian* 新約希漢英字典 (Greek-Chinese-English Dictionary of the New Testament) (Shanghai: Presbyterian Mission Press, 1918). Stuart later served as the United States ambassador to the Republic of China.

110 In 1920 a contributor to the periodical *Xin Fojiao* 新佛教 (New Buddhism) suggested compiling a *Fojiao xin ciyuan* 佛教新辭源 (New origins of Buddhist words), and even included a number of example definitions with textual citations in their articles, but the proposed project was evidently never realized. Zhulin 竹林, “Fojiao xin cidian” 佛教新辭源, *Xin Fojiao* 新佛教, no. 2 (March 25, 1920), MFQ 7:330–331, 345.

111 Similar to those discussed in section 3, above.

list of stroke-number sections and an index. The front matter was first published separately in 1919, and individual pieces also appeared reprinted in several Buddhist periodicals in the 1920s. Although there is no publication information included in the book, references in advertisements in *Haichao yin* indicate that it was first published between February and May 1921, with another edition or a later print run issued in 1925 that has since become widely-cited as the earliest edition.¹¹² The first edition was printed across sixteen volumes and ran to more than 1,700 pages, while the later 1929 expanded edition was issued in four larger volumes. The entries are printed in three columns with key terms indicated by both overdotting and being enclosed in brackets, while the definitions are punctuated with both pauses (、) and full stops (○). Sanskrit words are sometimes included, rendered phonetically in Roman letters. Twelve prefaces open the first volume, three of which were written by Ding, with others contributed by Xianyin 顯蔭 (1902–1925), a disciple and student of Dixian and graduate of his Guanzong Research Society; Xu Shaozhen 徐紹楨 (1861–1936), a revolutionary and official in the Guomindang; Wu Yanfang 伍延芳 (1842–1922), legal scholar and former Qing diplomat; Wang Xinsan 王心三 (1882?–1950), a former publisher and Tongmenghui member who had turned to Pure Land practice upon reading Yinguang's letters; and Yan Xishan 閻錫山 (1883–1960), who had studied in Japan, participated in the 1911 revolution, and was then in effective control of Shanxi province.¹¹³ Apart from Xianyin, who was only eighteen at the time, the contributors were all prominent figures in the political, publishing, and scholarly spheres of Republican China.

Later in the prefatory materials are four photographic pages, each with an image of Ding in a different stage of his life. The earliest photograph depicts the author during his time of studying the humanities (*wenxue* 文學), and the accompanying caption explains his reasons in including these images of himself: that such has been the practice of recent literary collections, and in dictionaries written by authors both at home and overseas, and that by doing so he hoped to show how youth passes to maturity, and then to old age, in a mere instant

¹¹² A list of “new publications” in the supplement to the December, 1920 edition of *Haichao yin* lists a *Fojiao da cidian* 佛教大詞典 as part of a *Foxue congshu* 佛學叢書 series. MFQ 149:120. The book list for Shanghai Medical Press published in *Haichao yin* in February 1921 lists the dictionary as being “in press” 在刊, while an advertisement for the dictionary in the May 1921 issue lists it for sale at 12 yuan, plus 63 cents for postage. MFQ 150:52, 464. For the 1925 citation, see *Digital Catalogue of Chinese Buddhism*, S0154.

¹¹³ On Xianyin see Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1797–1799. Wang was later better known as Wang Xinshen 王心湛. On him see Kuanlü 寬律, ed., *Jindai wangsheng suiwen lu* 近代往生隨聞錄 (Taipei: Caituan faren Fotuo jiaoyu jijinhui, 1990), entry for Wang Xinshen 王心湛.



Figure 3: Four Phases of Ding Fubao's Life: Studying Literature, Studying Science, Studying Medicine, and Studying Buddhism. Ding, *Foxue da cidian*, vol. 1, unpaginated section. The four photographic pages have been combined here into a single image.

(*chana* 剎那). The second photograph, picturing Ding during his studies of mathematics and physiology and posed with full-sized models of the human skeleton and internal organs, takes up the anatomical theme in referencing a well-known exchange regarding Bodhidharma's disciples attaining the "skin" of his teachings.¹¹⁴ The last two images, showing Ding first as medical student and then as student of Buddhist Studies, have no captions, but they imply a progression both of his physical state and his intellectual development, from youth and literature to advanced age and Buddhism. The inclusion of the medical models hints at the pervasive theme of Buddhism as medicine. The parallel to the depiction of Oda Tokunō in his dictionary cannot be ignored, but there were also Chinese Buddhist precedents in the front matter of several periodicals, *Foxue congbao* and *Fojiao yuebao* 佛教月報 for example, which featured lithographic images of living Buddhists and famous sites.¹¹⁵

Secondary sources have often alluded to the fact that Ding's work is a direct translation and adaptation of the content of Oda's dictionary, but the brief comparison of a few sample entries outlined above demonstrates just how closely Ding followed the phrasing and terminology of the Japanese original. As illustrated in the table above, the key terms, part of speech, sentence flow, word order, and quoted passages are nearly identical except where grammatical differences between Japanese and formal written Chinese required an alteration. For the quoted passages, Ding simply removed the *kaeriten* 返り點 that had been added to the original which helped readers parse the phrases into Japanese word order.¹¹⁶ Above the level of individual entries, however, Ding did exercise an editorial influence; for example, he removed 「一人」, which in Oda which was a disambiguation entry for two other phrases, and added an entry on 「一人作虛」, which was not present in the Japanese original.¹¹⁷ Ding also excised several terms and phrases that were only used in scriptural texts composed in Japan. The core of Ding's dictionary is thus derived from the lexicographical and bibliographic scholarship of Oda Tokunō, and only incidentally a product of his many years of researching Buddhist terminology, although it is this aspect of his experience that figures so prominently in several places in his published

114 The full passage is: 『道副法師曰：不執文字，不離文字，而為道用。達磨祖師曰：汝得吾皮。嗚乎。皮亦豈易得哉。何況由皮而得肉，由肉而得骨乎。肉與骨尚可見，而髓則不易見。所以得髓者愈難。佛學大辭典者，皮外之皮也。余觀此圖之肉與骨，而愈為惕然矣。若云可作白骨觀猶淺之乎，視此圖也。』 Punctuation added. Ding, *Foxue da cidian*, unpaginated prefatory section.

115 See Scott, "Conversion by the Book," chapter 3, sections 2 and 3.

116 These marks are not reproduced in the table above.

117 An abbreviated form of "一人作虛萬人傳實," a *gongan* 公案 from the *Konggu ji* 空谷集, a Song-dynasty collection. See *Foguang da cidian*, [空谷集].

Table 2: Comparison of Sample Entries in Oda Tokunō and Ding Fubao^a

| <i>Oda, 1917 [1929]</i> | <i>Ding, 1921 [1925]</i> |
|--|--|
| <p>ブツ 佛〔術語〕 Buddha 佛陀の略。又、佛陀、浮圖、浮頭、勃陀、勃駄、部陀、母陀、沒駄。覺者又は智者と譯す、覺に覺察覺悟の二義あり、煩惱を覺察して害を為さしめざるそ世人の賊あるを覺知する如きを覺察と云ひ、之を一切智と名く。諸法の事理を覺知して了了分明なるそ睡夢の寤むる如きを覺悟と云ひ之を一切種智と名く。自ら覺し復た能く他を覺せしめ、自他の覺行窮滿するを佛と名く、自覺は凡夫に簡び、覺他は二乘に簡び、覺行窮滿は菩薩に簡異す。(1551)</p> <p>シュウハ 宗派〔術語〕 大聖出世して大小半滿の諸教を説き一切の機縁を攝化す。滅後の賢聖各教に依て宗を分ち、以て有縁を化益す。今滅後三國の諸宗を列舉せん。 ... (817)</p> <p>ジヤウド 淨土〔界名〕 聖者所住の國土なり。五濁の垢染なきが故に淨土と云ふ。梁譯の〔攝論八〕に「所居之土無於五濁、如彼玻璃珂等、名清淨土。」〔大乘義章十九〕に「經中或時名佛地、或稱佛界、或云佛國、或云佛土、或復說為淨刹、淨首、淨國、淨土。」 (970)</p> | <p>【佛】（術語） Buddha、佛陀之略，又作休屠、佛陀、浮陀、浮圖、浮頭、勃陀、勃駄、部陀、母陀、沒駄。譯言覺者、或智者。覺有覺察覺悟之二義、覺察煩惱、使不為害、如世人之覺知為賊者、故云覺察、是名一切智。覺知諸法之事理、而了了分明，如睡夢之寤、謂之覺悟、是名一切種智。自覺復能覺他、自他之覺行窮滿、名為佛。自覺者、簡於凡夫、覺他者簡於二乘、覺行窮滿、簡異於菩薩。(1152)</p> <p>【宗派】（術語）大聖出世、說大小半滿之諸教、攝化一切機縁。滅後賢聖各依教分宗以化益有縁。今列舉滅後三國之諸宗如下。 ... (1551)^b</p> <p>【淨土】（界名）聖者所住之國土也。無五濁之垢染、故云淨土。梁譯之攝論八曰：「所居之土無於五濁、如彼玻璃珂等、名清淨土。」大乘義章十九曰：「經中或時名佛地、或稱佛界、或云佛國、或云佛土、或復說為淨刹、淨首、淨國、淨土。」 (1976)</p> |

^a The key term for each entry is here highlighted in bold for clarity. The page number in the original is given at the end of each entry.

^b Both entries are followed by similar passages defining Buddhist schools in India, China (*Shina* 支那), and Japan.

works. As mentioned above, when annotating Buddhist scriptures himself, Ding tended to formulate his own definitions and cite his own references rather than rely on those in Oda's dictionary. Instead of forming the basis of Ding's Buddhist scholarship, as one might assume given the size of the work and the importance of terminology in his series, it is more likely that his dictionary was instead composed primarily for others to help in their own self-directed studies.

Foxue da cidian had a wide-ranging influence on contemporary and later Buddhist print media. It features in several Buddhist books and periodicals from the 1920s onward, in the form of reprinted sections, articles discussing

the work, and in advertisements and lists of Buddhist books published by Ding's Shanghai Medical Press. One of its earliest appearances is in the series title *Foxue cuoyao* (1920), wherein the dictionary is praised as "the mouthpiece of the scriptures, feast of the discourses, distinguishing large from small, both profound and historical."¹¹⁸ A short advertisement appears over several issues of the periodical *Haichao yin*, and the dictionary's General Remarks (*liyan* 例言), Ding's first preface, and Xianyin's preface are also reprinted in issues of *Haichao yin* from 1921 and 1922. At the time Ding's Shanghai Medical Press, along with his Wenming shuju, were two of the three main distributors for the periodical in which the pieces appeared. Xianyin's preface was also printed in the periodical *Foguang yuebao* 佛光月報 (Buddha light monthly), a publication of Huayan University 華嚴大學 based at Hardoon Gardens in Shanghai, and which was also re-tailed by the Medical Press.¹¹⁹ One series of articles by Xianyin on matters relating to Japan includes a short note on the relationship between Ding's dictionary and esoteric Buddhist teachings:

The prosperity of Esoteric Buddhism in Japan is truly admirable. Tiantai followers transmitted esoteric teachings called *Taimi* 台密, and thus most of their teachings are in fact Esoteric writings. Oda Tokunō's *Great Dictionary of Buddhism* takes most of its content from Esoteric Buddhism. It goes without saying that our Chinese Esoteric studies have long since died out. Today, among those who wish to rejuvenate this path, there are many who take their materials from the *Great Dictionary of Buddhism*. This book has been translated and reprinted by Layman Chouyin [i.e., Ding Fubao]. I feel this is especially fine. It's truly an extremely good reference book for those studying the Esoteric canon. ...

日本密教之隆盛，誠為可欽。即天台家亦傳密教，謂之台密。故教相方面，大半皆密教之著述也。織田得能所編之佛教大辭典，其內容多採取於密教，可想而知。我華密學久絕，今欲重光斯道，其取資於佛教大辭典者，甚多。此書經隱居士逐譯而重編之，尤覺完美。誠研究密藏之極好參考書也。¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ The full description is 『是書筌簞於羣經，般絜於衆論。識大識小，亦玄亦史。莊嚴如入天府，瑰麗如入都市。大則黃鐘赤刀，弘璧琬琰，小則米鹽粟菽竹馬碎盤。色色形形，奇奇怪怪。聞者動心，觀者駭目。舉凡東西兩方與佛乘有關係之學說，悉滙萃於斯。洵是名理之淵府，心王之遊苑。蔚然為東西大小乘元氣浩汗之一切經之總注也。其搜羅之廣博，考據之精詳，約此佛學小辭典多十倍。』 Ding, *Foxue congshu*, 140.

¹¹⁹ *Haichao yin* articles and advertisements appear in MFQ 150:52, 77–82, 464, 152:215–217, 236, 315–316, 470, 153:202, 347. The text of the first advertisement that features the dictionary on its own, that in the May 20, 1921 issue, MFQ 150:464, is very close in content to the précis printed in *Foxue cuoyao*. The *Foguang* article is from March 2, 1923, MFQ 12:82–84. See the listing of 總代發行所 on MFQ 150:119. The third distributor was Taidong Books 泰東圖書局, also located in Shanghai. Advertisements were also published in 1924 and 1925 in *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan* 世界佛教居士林林刊, see MFQB 8:354, 9:66.

¹²⁰ The latter part of the note, not translated above, is another indication that having a photograph of the author in a Chinese publication was still widely regarded as an oddity: 「丁氏

Xianyin's identification of Oda and Ding's dictionary as a valuable source for students may simply be in service of his personal quest to revive Esoteric Buddhism in China, a mission cut short by his untimely death at a young age, but it does reflect the fact that this work was a ready resource for different types of scholarly and doctrinal agendas among Chinese Buddhists.

The dictionary was widely advertised throughout the print run of *Foxue banyuekan* 佛學半月刊 (Buddhist studies biweekly), the periodical of Shanghai Foxue shuju 上海佛學書局 (Shanghai Buddhist Books), the largest specialist Buddhist press of the Republican era, which also sold the dictionary as part of its publication catalogue.¹²¹ The periodical ran from 1929 to 1941, and features advertisements both specifically for the dictionary and for the larger catalogue of Buddhist publications issued by the Medical Press. In January 1934 it also published an article by Chenkong 塵空 (1908–1979) that critiques and suggests corrections to the dictionary's entry on *ba jingjie* 八敬戒 (the eight ethical precepts for nuns). Chenkong first quotes the entire entry, then points out that cited passage from *Sifen lü* 四分律 (The Four-Part Vinaya) is rendered incorrectly. He provides the correct passages from relevant sources, and argues that even if we put to one side the mistaken citation, the entry as published is still unclear, closing his article with a succinct list of each precept and an explanation of its meaning.¹²² Given Ding's stated devotion to staying close to the original texts, the error described by Chenkong is quite surprising. Ordinarily a handful of mistak-

編佛學大辭典。其卷首冠以肖影。華人士多非議之者。殊不知織田氏所編之佛教大辭典。其卷首固載有織田氏之肖影也。且東人士之著述。多冠肖影於卷首。不足為異。可笑華人士之少見多怪。見駱駝而曰馬腫背也。」Xianyin 顯蔭, "Liudong suibi" 留東隨筆, *Haichao yin*, year 5, no. 6 (July 21, 1924), MFQ 159:326–327.

121 On Shanghai Buddhist Books, see J. Brooks Jessup, "The Householder Elite: Buddhist Activism in Shanghai, 1920–1956" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 2010), chapter 3; Meng Lingbing 孟令兵, *Lao Shanghai wenhua qipa: Shanghai Foxue shuju* 老上海文化奇葩: 上海佛學書局 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 2003); Gregory Adam Scott, "Pingheng gongde yu liyi – Shanghai Foxue shuju gufen youxian gongsi de jingli 平衡功德與利益 – 上海佛學書局股份有限公司的經歷," forthcoming in *Gaibian le Zhongguo zongjiao de wushi nian* 改變了中國宗教的50年, ed. Paul R. Katz and Vincent Goossaert (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica).

122 The *Foxue banyuekan* advertisements were published between 1932 and 1934, and appear in MFQ 47:294, where Shanghai Buddhist Books is listed as a distributor, and MFQ 48:11, 474, 49:67. Chenkong's article is from July 1934, MFQ 61:348–350. The dictionary is mentioned only a few times during the turbulent period of the Second Sino-Japanese War, when few Buddhist periodicals remained in print. See for example MFQ 55:51, MFQB 65:243, 386. An announcement in December 1943 informs the reader that one Master Bianneng 徧能法師 intends to re-edit and publish the dictionary, while a very short advertisement for Ding's edition appears the same month in the periodical *Huideng* 慧燈. MFQ 97:527, MFQB 74:134.

en citations in a work of hundreds of pages should not be cause for concern, yet the fact that the entire entry was judged deficient is an indication, albeit an isolated one, that there were more systemic problems with Ding's work in the eyes of some of his contemporaries.

The dictionary did not spark an immediate flood of similar works, as sometimes occurred with successful publications in Republican China, and in fact for the remainder of the decade it would be older lexicons that would be reprinted most often. In 1923 in the same Buddhist Studies series, Ding published a reprint of *Sanzang fashu* 三藏法數 (Categories of Buddhist concepts from the Canon), a collection of definitions for numbered terms, such as the three realms (*sanjie* 三界) and the five skandhas (*wuyun* 五蘊), that was first compiled in the fifteenth century.¹²³ The ninth-century lexicon *Yiqie jing yinyi*, mentioned at the start of this section, went through a number of reprintings and edited editions in the 1920s, including an indexed edition by Chen Zuolin 陳作霖 (1837–1920?) printed privately in Guangzhou in 1923 and in Shanghai by Ding in 1924, as well as reprints of the main and extended volumes also through Ding's press, and another edition "with cited commentary and comments" by Tian Qian 田潛 (1870–1926) published in Beijing in the same year. Finally, in 1929 the Commercial Press, which printed very few Buddhist works under its own imprint, published the twelfth-century lexicon *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (Compilation of translated Buddhist terms) by Fayun 法雲 (1088–1158), also issuing a reprint in 1933.¹²⁴

There were a few newly compiled Chinese Buddhist dictionaries printed in the 1920s and 1930s. One of which, *Foxue xiao cidian* 佛學小辭典 (Concise dictionary of Buddhist studies) by Sun Zulie 孫祖烈 (Sun Jizhi 孫繼之, fl. 1910s–1930s), was issued as part of Ding's series. This work is an abbreviated and simplified version of Ding's larger dictionary, sparing the extensive explanations and citations in favor of short, simple definitions for terms. Shanghai Buddhist Books, which retailed Ding's larger dictionary, also published its own *Shiyong*

¹²³ Its full title is *Daming sanzang fashu* 大明三藏法數. Ding's preface to the work was reprinted in *Shijie Fojiao jushilin linkan*, nos. 1 and 2 combined issue, [1925?], MFQB 7:78–79. See *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism*, [法數] for title translation.

¹²⁴ Chen Zuolin, 陳作霖, *Yiqie jing yinyi tongjian* 一切經音義通檢 (Guangzhou: Jiangshi shenxiu shuwu, 1923; Shanghai: Wuxi Dingshi, 1924); Ding Fubao, ed., *Yiqie jing yinyi zhengbian* 一切經音義正編, and Xilin, 希麟, ed., *Xu yiqie jing yinyi* 續一切經音義 (Shanghai: Wuxi Dingshi, 1924); Tian Qian 田潛, *Yiqie jing yinyi yinshuo wenjian* 一切經音義引說文箋 (Beijing: Wenkai zhai juan, 1924); Fayun 法雲, *Fanyi mingyi ji* 翻譯名義集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1929). On the 1933 reprint, see *Foxue banyue kan* 佛學半月刊, no. 64 (Oct. 1, 1933), MFQ 48:474. Ding also published an 'essentials' edition of both volumes: *Zheng xu yiqie jin yinyi tiyao* 正續一切經音義提要, reprinted in Dong Lianchi 董蓮池, ed., *Shuowen jiezi yanjiu wenxian jicheng, xian-dang dai jian* 說文解字研究文獻集成 現當代卷, Vol. 8 (Beijing: Zuojia chuban she, 2008).

Foxue cidian 實用佛學辭典 (Practical Buddhist studies dictionary) in 1934, issuing three more reprints before 1950.¹²⁵ Abroad the production of Buddhist dictionaries continued, particularly in Japan, with works such as *Hōbōgirin* 法寶義林 (Forest of meanings of the Dharma jewels) by Sylvain Lévi (1863–1935) and Takakusu Junjirō, the first fascicle of which was published in Tokyo from 1929 to 1930, and a new *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Great dictionary of Buddhism) by Mochizuki Shinko 望月信亨, first published in 1932. Finally, Oda and Ding's work would be one of main sources for the foundational English-language Buddhist dictionary translated by William Edward Soothill and Lewis Houdous published in 1937, and which since has been incorporated in digital form into the present *Digital Dictionary of Buddhism* edited by A. Charles Muller.¹²⁶

The origins, composition, and legacy of Ding's dictionary reflect the importance of Buddhist lexicographic studies, both in the narrow context of his book series and in the wider development of East Asian Buddhist scholarship. Ding's *Foxue da cidian*, however, like Oda's dictionary, was more than simply a reference book. The tragic story of Oda's devotion to his task and the photographic and biographic representations of Ding's personas in his dictionary attest to the importance of these works as products of a personal scholarly and religious devotion. By collecting the very terms of the Buddhist teachings and attempting to lay their meaning bare for the reader to access, lexicography was an essential part of Ding's mission to help readers experience the immediate contact with the teachers and exegetes of eras past, as he himself had experienced when reading the scriptures.

5. Conclusion

Ding's *Foxue congshu* series came to an end in 1924, when Ding felt that he had largely fulfilled the vow he made to reprint and distribute edited Buddhist texts.

¹²⁵ Sun Zulie 孫祖烈, *Foxue xiao cidian* 佛學小辭典 (Shanghai: Yixue shuju, [1919?]). There may also be a fifth edition from 1926. *Foxue shuju bianji bu* 佛學書局編輯部, *Shiyong Foxue cidian* 實用佛學辭典 (Shanghai: Foxue shuju, 1934, 1935, 1937, 1947). Note that the surtitle *Shiyong* is included in the title in some library and bibliographic catalogue entries but not others.

¹²⁶ Sylvain Lévi and Takakusu Junjirō, *Hōbōgirin: Dictionnaire encyclopédique du bouddhisme d'après les sources chinoises et japonaises* (Tokyo: Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1929-); Mochizuki Shinko 望月信亨, *Bukkyō daijiten* 佛教大辭典 (Tokyo: Bukkyō Daijiten Hakkōjo, 1932-[1936?]); William Edward Soothill and Lewis Hodous, *A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms: With Sanskrit and English Equivalents and a Sanskrit-Pali Index* (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd., 1937).

While a few more titles would later be added to the series, from this point onward Ding began to focus on other topics, including literature as well as Daoist religious texts.¹²⁷ He continued to involve himself in Buddhist matters, however, joining the board of directors for the Shanghai Foxue shuju 上海佛學書局 publisher, and his Buddhist book series remained in print, being widely advertised throughout the rest of the Republican period.¹²⁸ The series also continued to exert an influence on its readership. For example, after the death of his father in 1921, Cai Niansheng 蔡念生 received a copy of *Foxue cuoyao* from a monk, sparking his interest in Buddhism. Since he was working in the provincial government of Fengtian 奉天 at the time, far removed from the publishing heartland of the Jiangnan region, Cai ordered Buddhist books through the mail, later becoming a well-known lay scholar of Buddhism.¹²⁹ In a letter written in 1928, the Pure Land monk, scholar, and artist Hongyi 弘一 (1880–1942) praised the series and the dictionary, saying that they were especially suited for people who did not yet believe in Buddhism.¹³⁰ Like the earlier efforts of monastic authors and lay publishers, Ding aimed to guide the reader of Buddhist scriptural texts through a difficult semantic and lexicographic landscape. Yet Ding's series sought to pursue a rather new direction in Chinese Buddhist print culture, drawing upon established methods of exegesis but addressing itself to the independent, skeptical, and exacting reader of the modern era.

¹²⁷ Ding, *Nianpu*, 326, 388; Boorman, *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, vol. 3, 270; Liu Xun, *Daoist Modern: Innovation, Lay Practice, and the Community of Inner Alchemy in Republican Shanghai* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 37.

¹²⁸ See for example the advertisement in *Luohan cai* 羅漢菜 in October 1942, stating that free copies of *Foxue cuoyao* were available for the cost of postage, MFQ 88:241; another note regarding the distribution of the text appears in *Jue youqing* 覺有情, Oct. 1, 1942, MFQB 61:406.

¹²⁹ See Yu, *Xiandai Fojiao renwu cidian*, 1583–1586; Yu, *Zhongguo jinxindai Fojiao renwu zhi*, 431. Cai was the editor of the 1970 reprint of Ding's series.

¹³⁰ Lin Ziqing 林子青, ed., *Hongyi fashi shu xin* 弘一法師書信 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1990), 225. The series was also the target of some criticism, as in a 1923 article by Tang Xueyun 湯雪筠 (d.u.) which argued that the content of Ding's books was not Buddhist at all. See Tang Xueyun 湯雪筠, "Yu Ding Fubao jushi taolun Foxue congshu" 與丁福保居士討論佛學叢書, *Foxue xunkan* 佛學旬刊, no. 26 (Jan. 4, 1923), MFQ 8:175–177.